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# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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# SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

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# FAPLA REPORTEDLY PREPARING MAJOR OFFENSIVE AGAINST UNITA

Lisbon SEMANARIO in Portuguese 12 Apr 86 p 30

[Text] There is mounting evidence that the Angolah army (FAPLA) is preparing to launch a large scale operation in May or June to take Jamba, on the southeastern tip of Angola, from UNITA.

Unlike last year's Mavinga offensive, this operation will not involve large numbers of men. Instead, beefed-up air power, artillery and tanks will be used.

Several tank formations are concentrated along the Cuito-Canavale-Menongue line. Landing strips in the area have been extended and reinforced. Airplane shelters have been built and fuel storage tanks placed in the area.

These activities coincide with reports that Soviet officers, who have gained antiguerrilla experience in Afghanistan, have arrived in Angola. It is also well known that Soviet military supplies are continuously arriving in Luanda.

Western military circles, however, have some reservations about the true meaning of these data and their relationship with the Jamba operation. The openly visible preparations could merely be a diversionary maneuver.

Despite its enormous arsenal, the Angolan army by itself does not now have the operational capacity to launch such an operation successfully. It is certain that the regime cannot now run another risk like the 1985 Mavinga offensive fiasco.

In fact, UNITA's military might has been considerably improved in the past 2 months with the arrival of aid from the United States and other countries. The type of arms provided to UNITA (antiaircraft and antitank missiles) have made the government's tanks and aircraft especially vulnerable.

The Jamba area is within radar range of the South African base at Rundu on the Caprive Strip. Savimbi's headquarters is linked with the South African base through a telecommunications system. Furthermore, Angola's radar network does not cover the area, which makes it difficult to operate in that air space.

If the taking of Jamba by the FAPLA represents a blow to UNITA, a blow capable of causing it harmful political and psychological effects (to which South African reaction cannot be determined), the operation's failure would have these same effects on Luanda.

# DIAMANG Depletes Reserves

Lunda-Norte and Lunda-Sul's known diamond reserves are practically depleted because almost no prospecting has taken place in recent years. The reserves that were being exploited until now had been found before Angola's independence. Angola's diamond production has suffered a decline of more than 60 percent since 1973. Management of DIAMANG was turned over to a British firm, MATS of the Openheimer group, after Portuguese capital interests were nationalized.

9935/12947 CSO: 3442/193

# SAVIMBI VIEWS POSSIBILITY OF TALKS WITH MPLA

Lisbon O DIA in Portuguese 17 Apr 86 p 11

[Text] In an interview published in Brazil, Jonas Savimbi admits to the possibility of negotiating with the ruling MPLA even without discussing the Cuban presence in Angola. "Only after negotiations will we talk about the fate of foreign troops in Angola," said Savimbi in statements to the magazine POLITIQUE INTERNACIONAL and reported in the Brazilian newspaper O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO.

Savimbi said that 10,000 Cuban military personnel have already been given Angolan citizenship. He also said that any agreement with the leadership in Luanda must first include the formation of a nonpartisan provisional government which will be followed by elections.

"The winner would have enough power to propose the creation of a government coalition to the other political forces," he said.

Savimbi described UNITA's objectives to be "national independence and a return of freedom."

He said that there are now one million people living in UNITA controlled territory. He added, "For example, 90 percent of Huambo belongs to UNITA. We make the laws there. There are other areas where officially the MPLA has a greater presence than we do but at night these belong to UNITA."

Savimbi admitted in the interview that his forces lack medicine, school supplies and anti-tank and anti-aircraft missiles.

He expressed his desire to obtain a more powerful radio transmitter than the one he now has ("Angola Livre").

Still on the subject of communications, Savimbi feels that one of UNITA's great successes lies in its good communications links.

"Our radio broadcasting system covers all of Angola," said Savimbi.

Attack in Cabinda .

UNITA forces "attacked and destroyed" a bridge 22 km from Cabinda, states a communique from which that movement made public yesterday.

The bridge over the Zembo River, on the road which connects Cabinda with the town of Tandozinze, was destroyed and UNITA forces attacked a defending military column destroying two vehicles, added the communique.

The same day UNITA declared it downed a Soviet made MI-25 helicopter between the Gango and Cuilo rivers, 30 km west of Calussinga in South Cuanza Province.

All passengers, including the three Cuban crew members, reportedly died.

The helicopter was part of a squadron of four which "provided support to the air transportable unit operating in the Mussende area," said UNITA.

According to the communique, UNITA attacked a Malanje military column and took forces of the government's 95th brigade "out of action". This brigade is made up of more than 1,000 armed men.

A UNITA spokesman in Lisbon said the brigade was "routed" without "putting up any resistance" to the guerrillas.

The communique adds that UNITA killed 71 government soldiers and 3 Cubans, captured 6 Angolan soldiers and destroyed 15 vehicles in its operations from 9 to 13 April.

9935/12947 CSO: 3442/194

#### LISBON ACCUSED OF COMPLICITY WITH MPLA

Lisbon O DIA in Portuguese 8 Apr 86 p 17

[Text] The report that the ambassador of the People's Democratic Republic of Angola to Lisbon gave the Foreign Ministry a list with the names of UNITA "activists" living in Portugal impelled the Olhao based Luso-Angolan Solidarity Association to put out a communique. It states:

"Such a list only confirms what the independent press has been reporting about DISA agents in Portugal. The political police of the Angolan dictatorship moves about at will here.

The Luso-Angolan Solidarity Association deplores the Portuguese government's silence, that it has not lodged a protest about the Angolan ambassador's attitude through proper diplomatic channels.

The Luso-Angolan Solidarity Association believes that the foreign minister did not serve the Portuguese people well by acquiescing to receive the representative of the Angolan dictatorship whose sole intent was to give the minister the above mentioned list."

In conclusion, the Luso-Angolan Solidarity Association wrote that once the Portuguese government took possession of the list it became "solely responsible for the security and well being of the people whose names appear there as well as all those who express opposition to Luanda's dictatorial regime."

9935/12947 CSO: 3442/194

# CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN IN HUAMBO TERMED SUCCESSFUL

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 25 Apr 86 p 2

[Text] The process of integrating pre-recruits into the Armed Forces of Angolan Liberation (FAPLA) is proceeding successfully in this city where thousands of youths have appeared at the registration centers, from which they will later be sent to the staging center.

According to the assistant head of the ANGOP center for recruitment and mobilization, Captain Paulo Marques Verga, the results have been satisfactory, but over the next few days the numbers of recruits will increase even further since, as he said, "young people are aware of the role that they play in the country's defense, and so they have regularly responded to the dates established for their induction," which have been extended to the 15th.

Paulo Marques Verga, who considers the morale of the pre-recruits to be high, alerted some business organizations to comply with the dates and the regulations for requesting deferrals for their technicians and other qualified personnel, adding that "only those workers whose companies comply with the laws established by DOM/EMG will receive deferrals."

On interview the military confirmed the determination of the pre-recruits and their strength and commitment to the country's defense.

Aware of the difficult task that awaits them, the recruits invoke the name of Henda, patron of Angolan youth, as a live example of the sacred obligation to defend the nation, who exhorted young people from Cabinde to Cuneme to join the armed forces.

12857/9435 CSO: 3442/215

# PAPER DISCUSSES POLITICAL SOLUTION TO CIVIL WAR

Lisbon SEMANARIO in Portuguese 5 Apr 86 p 27

[Article by Carlos da Matta]

[Excerpts] UNITA carries out military operations throughout most of Angola in order to make an impact domestically and internationally, to affect the economy and attempt to disperse the FAPLA's best units. These units are augmenting their armor, air power and personnel in preparation for a probable attack on Jonas Savimbi's large bases during the dry season that begins in May (however, the vegetation and some rivers only dry up 1 to 2 months later). During this time heavy equipment can be transported more easily.

Meanwhile, it is probable that a stalemate will continue now that UNITA has better means of defense. On the diplomatic front, there was President Jose Eduardo dos Santos' letter to the UN secretary general in which he criticized the United States and rejected its role as a mediator. Sources close to the government say that Frank Wisner's recent trip to southern Africa was aimed at isolating Angola and preparing consumated facts in the sub-region.

Domestically, there has been a wave of popular protests against the austerity measures announced by the MPLA-PT's political bureau at the beginning of the month. These measures are a consequence of the fall in oil prices. The critics underscore that these measures only deal with small points that are not enough to solve the problem, which is said to lie in the rash expenditures made when oil prices were high and no thought was given to the future.

These critics also stress that it is useless to proceed with certain very expensive projects that only worsen the nation's liquidity. These projects are, according to the critics, the Agostinho Neto mausoleum (extimated cost \$50 million), the Kapanda dam (about \$100 million per year and the economic utility of which is keenly debated even within government circles), and the continuation of fishing agreements with foreign countries under unfavorable conditions for Angola.

These protests, like others before them, crop up under the most varied circumstances. They find national expression in every-day language. Democrats who repeat and refine them consider these to be virtual "campaigns of popular protest." They add that only the end of the war, an abyss that has

swallowed billions of dollars and many lives, and democracy can allow economic reconstruction to take place.

The restructuring of the State Security Ministry is also awaited with great interest. The committee looking into this is composed of the recently appointed deputy minister (former deputy interior minister), Maj Miguel Neto, director of emigration and border control, and Jose Maria, a former lieutenant in the Portuguese army who is a presidential adviser, a key person in military counter intelligence and is believed to be a "modernist". Several of this ministry's provincial deputies and national directors as well as the minister were dismissed. The initial proposal to unite State Security with the Interior Ministry, in principle, under the leadership of Interior Minister Rodrigues Kito, seems to be losing ground.

What is important, however, is whether or not the restructuring will produce changes concerning freedom of expression and an end to the repressive environment that exists in Angola. Will it, on the contrary, include measures to strengthen the repressive environment. The ministerial restructuring falls short of what the president wanted. He is finding it difficult to find replacements. A general sense of non-acceptance of great responsiblities can be clearly sensed in Luanda.

Some of the president's followers have shown certain domineering and even threatening attitudes since the MPLA-PT congress. There is also the belief among technocrats that they are being used as scapegoats by the politicians.

#### Pastoral Reflection

Although the political bureau's communique gives assurances that it will do everything to assure the supply of goods to the population, severe rationing has been practiced for years. Frequently, there have been shortages of essential goods in the "people's stores". These stores are supplied by two large state firms, EDIMBA and EDIMBI. The shortages have fueled the growth of a black market, which the people call the "slaughter" because of the prohibitive prices. The black market benefits a small number of people who accumulate enormous fortunes.

The Angolan Catholic bishops also published a "pastoral reflection following 10 years of independence" entitled "Firm in Hope". In this pastoral letter they state, among other things: "We Angolans unfortunately celebrate 10 years of independence with weapons in our hands. As if all of this has not been enough, the specter of war spreads ever more. Civil war is destroying our country. Even foreign forces have made our land a battlefield." The letter denounces the situation of moral and material crisis, the "psychological balcanization of the Angolan family," corruption, hunger and the existence of displaced people and refugees. The bishops consider the destruction of property and structures "which took years of work and are part of everyone's patrimony" to be a form of "violence that has never created alternatives."

In what is a clear reference to the need for national reconciliation, the pastoral letter added, "Let us not hide the truth, the foreigners who enter

our land carrying arms comes at the request of Angolans. As a result, peace depends on us." It repeats several times that "peace is possible". This sentence will no doubt strike a responsive chord even in non-religious sectors.

In effect, the economic crisis, the war's stalemate, popular discontent, the great power concern with the capacity of their proteges and the forces of peace making themselves heard are all contributing to leading Angola to search for a political solution.

9935/12947 CSO: 3442/193

# PORTUGAL EXTENDS LINE OF CREDIT LIMIT FOR IMPORTS

Lisbon O DIA in Portuguese 30 Apr 86 p 9

[Text] Portugal increased to \$65 million (about 9.7 million contos) the limit of its line of credit for the financing of Angolan imports of Portuguese goods and services.

The increase of \$25 million (2.7 million contos) on the credit limit between the central banks of Portugal and Angola, in effect since 25 April 1984, has just been signed in Lisbon.

The agreement authorized two years ago by the two central banks was designed to finance the purchase by Angola from Portugal of goods and services up to a limit of \$40 million. That agreement also establishes a "ceiling" of \$90 million for the financing of imports from Angola of intermediate goods for Portuguese consumption.

At the signature ceremony the secretary of the treasury, Tavares Moreira, affirmed that the Portuguese government will monitor with great interest all negotiations of the Angolan authorities, with a view to a "new confrontation of their financial responsibilities with regard to Portugal."

Tavares Moreira made clear that the government, in agreeing to the extension of the credit agreement, "is not overlooking the difficulties that impact the Angolan economy as a result of the international situation." "But the knowledge of these difficulties did not and does not deflect us from pursuing cooperative economic and financial efforts with Angola," he added.

For his part, the vice-governor of the Angolan National Bank, Mario Pizarro, said that his country is open to dialogue with Portugal in all areas. He considered that the financial instruments of both countries have to be utilized with discipline and realism; otherwise, he added, "It will not be possible to give solidity to economic, financial and commercial relations between Portugal and Angola.

12857/9435 CSO: 3442/211

### SCHOLARSHIP STUDENTS IN CSSR REMINDED OF AUSTERITY MEASURES

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 16 Apr 86 p 12

[Text] A motion in support of the Central Committee of the MPLA-Workers' Party, and particularly of the president of the MPLA-Workers' Party and of the People's Republic of Angola, Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, was unanimously approved last Saturday in Prague by the participants at the 3d assembly of Angolan students in Czechoslovakia.

In addressing that meeting the Angolan ambassador to the RDA, Mendes de Carvalho, supplementary member of the central committee of the party, said that the "status quo" in South Africa is grave.

He added that the military situation in Angola is complicated, with racist South African troops continuing to occupy part of the Kuando Kubango province, and 10 mercenary battalions and regular forces of the South African army concentrated along the frontier between Namibia and Angola.

Mendes de Carvalho mentioned austerity, indicating the government's desire to reduce costs, and said that students outside Angola would not be able to spend vacations at home this year, and that each student is called upon to be aware of the realities in Angola, and not ask for what is impossible.

The Angolan director emphasized the necessity for raising the effectiveness and discipline of each student, since only in that way could they become able to respond to the needs of the People's Republic of Angola, and since, if not, it would be useless and absurd to expect a gradual reduction in the number of foreign workers there, a group that is quite costly to the country.

In response to part of a speech given by the representative of the Czechoslovakian Ministry of Education, Mendes de Carvalho gave assurance that he would communicate to the Angolan authorities the desire that they no longer send older students to Czechoslovakia for course work, since the homes designated for such students are not appropriate for adults.

At the meeting, the new secretary of the Union of Angolan Students in Czechoslovakia, Joao Francisco, was named to succeed Angelo Peca.

There are about 350 Angolan scholarship students in the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia.

12857/9435

CSO: 3442/215

COOPERANTS, BLACK MARKET SEEN AS ECONOMIC BURDENS

Lisbon EXPRESSO (REVISTA) in Portuguese 25 Apr 86 pp 42-R, 43-R, 45-R

[Article by Jose Mario Costa/Rui Ramos: "Angola: Peace Is Still Far Away"]

[Excerpts] "She, an adolescent, barely weaned: the captive. He, a 30-year old--the "co-op"--before whom the beautiful world of Luanda is woven and undone. Everything to his heart's desire. It doesn't matter who. It doesn't matter how. As long as his needs are satisfied. A party atmosphere, good music, good drinks, young companions. Cruising around in the Suzuki AIT (Temporary Importation) for cooperants, the invitation, the refusal, the girl thrown from the car, injured. The next day the reporters look for the cooperant. He already has another captive at his side."

The text was published recently in the JORNAL DE ANGOLA and depicts a certain social ambiance created by the return of this new class born of the country's independence—the foreign cooperants who, from the East and the West, gather in the wake of the exodus of decolonization. Paid in dollars, with access to French boutiques and other types of privileges comparable only to those of political directors and figures of the national administration, they move in a seductive world: beer, whisky, cigarettes, and clothing that is foreign-made or handmade here—in short, very much like the old colonialists who disappeared in 74-75.

But mention of the foreign cooperants in the official newspaper of the country also signals a reversal of the Luanda government in the direction of austerity brought on by the drastic diminution of petroleum income that has launched Angola into an economic crisis unprecedented in the past 11 years.

There was no alternative to the use of foreign cooperants for the Luanda authorities who were besieged with insoluble problems in critical sectors: physicians, professors, engineers, technicians, and specialists of all kinds are contracted in Portugal, in Cuba, and in all of the eastern countries, but also in Italy, France, Spain, Scandinavia and Brazil. These are needs, though, that are expensive—more than \$180 million in 1984 according to figures in Luanda—and, worse, with no tangible results.

"There is no question that much of the cooperation has been useless," says a Portuguese citizen who has recently returned from Angola, "It has been a loss,

but much of the blame belongs to the Angolans, who were unable to provide direction or to establish objectives. But the problem is not so much that as the drop in petroleum prices."

In fact, that is the case: it is responsible, just by itself, for more than 90 percent of the country's debt. With a production of about 300,000 barrels per day and 10.4 million tons in 1984—that is, the second highest level south of the Sahara—the crude oil extracted from the Cabinda wells has constituted the main support for an economy in a permanent state of war. One has only to remember that Luanda estimated a production level of 20 million tons in 1990.

Instead, petroleum quotas have entered into a free-fall in the international markets, and Angola's other traditional exports (coffee and diamonds) are at their lowest point ever. The assistance of the Scandinavian countries, and especially Sweden, although important, is a drop in the ocean of budget necessities of a government that considers military self-sufficiency a vital need and a "national imperative."

As a result, the Luanda authorities have launched a vast "austerity package" which, besides bringing about the "rapid and significant diminution of the foreign work force," also envisions other measures: suspension of food imports and visas for foreign holiday travel, limitations on overseas telephone calls, and reduction in fuel supplies to "friendly countries" like Guine-Bissau and Sao Tome.

With regard to the cut in the number of cooperants, it is possible that Angola will seek to offset this by requiring the return to Angola of the majority of exiled citizens or those living overseas. Among other reasons, this would allow for the "recuperation" of the government apparatus of some of the old guard from OCA, from the FNLA, and even of UNITA. (The best-known case is the return of Daniel Chipenda, but other ex-dissidents are already working in Luanda, seeking contact with Chiwale, a military commander in UNITA who some time ago separated from Savimbi). Also, as EXPRESSO has already mentioned, the Angolan embassy in Lisbon has met regularly with the Angolan community there, trying to induce them to return, but apparently with no great success due to the military instability of the country.

Food restrictions are so great that observers arriving from Luanda believe they will aggravate the already deteriorated situation of public supplies, and will benefit even more the so-called "parallel markets" controlled for the most part by the thousands of Zairean "returnees." A closed, Lingala-French speaking community. They arrived back in the days of Agostinho Neto and today occupy important places in government and, of course, in the parallel commerce which in Luanda supplies "Cala Boca" Plaza, "Tira Biquini" Plaza, "Kanfufu" Plaza, and "Banga Sumo" Plaza. At prohibitive prices anything can be bought there that is unavailable at state stores—from electrical appliances to sausage, sandals, fresh beer, or a simple patent medicine—, goods that are known to have been...[portion of text missing]...responsible for the hunger situation on the continent. And they go even further, proposing the carrying out of "pluralistic, free, and periodic elections (...) that will legitimize the authorities in the eyes of the population,"

"the preservation of democratic guarantees," "a politics for community development of small and medium-sized family-owned businesses," and another series of measures which "allow for a change from the battle for survival to the battle for development."

But it is the Catholic church—with 3 million faithful in the country—which has intervened with great impact, especially through some of its bishops, and specifically D. Franklin, Bishop of Huambo, who was departed to Portugal by the PIDE back in the 60's. Less than a month ago they issued a new pastoral letter, widely disseminated, in which they expressly appealed for "national reconciliation," "an end to the war," and that the "great powers" assist is bringing peace to Angola, at the same time that they offered themselves as "peace mediators."

It's just that peace seems in fact to still be far from the borders of Angola.

12857/9435 CSO: 3442/211

# MANDELA SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN LAUNCHED IN CUNENE

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 23 Apr 86 p 2

[Text] A solidarity campaign for Nelson Mandela, the director of the ANC who has been imprisoned in the racist dungeons of Pretoria for 23 years, was recently launched in the town of Castanheira de Pera, the provisional site in Cunene Province, by Pedro Mutinde, a member of the central committee of the party and the provincial commissar.

The campaign, which was launched on the occasion of the 14th of April commemorations initiated by the National Committee of the JMPLA-Party Youth in close collaboration with the World Federation of Democratic Youth, takes as its motto, "Liberty for Nelson Mandela--Solidarity with the ANC."

The coordinator of the provincial committee of the party and provincial commissar of Cuneme, Pedro Mutinde, opened the ceremony by signing a petition demanding Nelson Mandela's freedom.

In participating at the launching, Ventura de Azevedo, who headed a delegation to Cuneme from the national committee, where a representative of Tanzanian Youth and members of the national secretariat of party youth were also in attendance, said that in Henda there could be seen extraordinary virtues that represent a true example of the distinguished patronage of Angolan youth.

In closing, he asked that all of the young people present reflect upon the present economic situation in the country.

The representative of the Tanzanian youth group, who also spoke at the ceremony, demonstrated the solidarity of his people with the Angolan people in general, and in particular with the Angolan youth, and called for the continuation of the revolutionary struggle against "apartheid" and international imperialism with equal fervor, because the proletarian revolution is irreversible.

"The people of Cunene congratulate and support the praiseworthy gesture of the National Committee of the JMPLA-Party Youth in promoting the national campaign of solidarity with Nelson Mandela and the other South African political prisoners held in the racist dungeons of Pretoria in all injustice by the 'apartheid' regime," said Pedro Mutinde on closing the meeting.

A special recognition was made by the provincial commissar of Cunema to the brave soldiers of FAPLA, as he exhorted all young people to follow the example of Henda.

15

12857

CSO: 3442/215

#### NEW PROVINCIAL COMMISSAR APPOINTED IN KUITO

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 25 Apr 86 p 3

[Text] The new provincial commisar of Bie, Marcolino Jose Carlos, was recently presented to the people of that city during a ceremony of the people held in "Commander Tiger" Place.

At the ceremony, presided over by the president of the regional military council of the 4th region, Lieutenant Colonel Marques Monakapui Bassovava, messages from Party Youth, from the Security and Defense Forces, and from Internal Order were read.

Lieut. Col. Bassovava said that efforts to improve the welfare of the peoples of the 4th military region and to fight against the counterrevolution would be redoubled.

Marcolino emphasized the need to improve party and government organization, and the importance of supporting the military in their attempts to resolve the major problems of the moment.

An extraordinary session of the People's Provincial Assembly was also held in this city in order to present the new president of this state body to the representatives and their assistants.

At the meeting the president of the regional military council of the 4th region read the biography of the new president of the People's Provincial Assembly of Bie, Marcolino Jose Carlos, member of the Central Committee of the MPLA-Work Party.

12857/9435 CSO: 3442/215

# BRIEFS

OIL EXPORT TO SAO TOME CANCELED--Angola stopped supplying oil to Sao Tome and Principe this week. It had earlier stopped exporting crude to Guinea-Bisseau. Luanda's measure, the result of increased difficulties arising from the fall in the international price of oil, is particularly significant for Sao Tome and Principe. Until now, Nigeria aside, Angola was its most important supplier. [Text] [Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 12 Apr 86 p 1] 9935/12947

CSO: 3442/194

# BDF COMMANDER STRESSES NEED FOR DEFENSE

MB231648 Gaborone Domestic Service in English 1611 GMT 23 May 86

[Text] The commander of the Botswana Defense Force [BDF], Major General Mompati Merafe, has called on members of the BDF to dedicate themselves to the defense of this country and not allow enemies of the force to make them lose their cohesion and sense of direction.

Speaking at a passing out parade of 153 privates at the Sir Serretse Khama barracks today, the major general said the threat against Botswana has now become more apparent than ever before in the light of the South African raid on Mogaditshane on Monday.

He said although the raid was an absolute fiasco in military terms, it had driven home the message that Botswana could no longer rely on the goodwill of South Africa for its security.

Maj Gen Merafe said the raid had also underscored the need for Botswana to increase its resource allocation to the BDF in order to improve its ability to defend the country. He said gone are the days when the BDF could only be expected to offer token resistance by fighting with bows and arrows, particularly when the South Africans attacked a BDF camp occupied by soldiers, women, and children.

Maj Gen Merafe also appealed to members of the force to ensure that information relating to the activities of the defense force is protected, as it may be used to the detriment of the safety of soldiers and those they are employed to protect.

He expressed anger that a member of the BDF was injured during a shootout in the center of the camp. He, however, commended members of the BDF for the gallant manner in which they repelled the attack on the camp.

Maj Gen Merafe said he was happy to say that enemy troops caught the biggest shocks of their lives when they found themselves confronted with fierce antiaircraft fire, which forced them to withdraw much quicker than they had intended. The major general stressed that although the BDF is a small force, it had clearly proven that it is not prepared to be intimidated into submission.

/9604

cso: 3400/1853

# TALKS WITH ITALY SUMMARIZE PRIORITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Conakry HOROYA in French 10 Apr 86 p 3

[Text] An Italian delegation, led by Pietro Porcerelli, counselor at the special service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, visited our country from 24-27 March with a view to the identification and financial evulation of an integrated program of multisectorial assistance. The delegation also included specialists from the Italtekna advisory council of the FAI.

In the course of a meeting with Lamine Bolivogui, minister of economy and finance, who at the time also acted as minister of planning and cooperation, Italian and Guinean experts tackled problems related to the six following projects:

- 1. The reconstruction of runways at Koundara, Mali, Dinguiraye and Siguiri;
- 2. The reconstruction of the hospitals at Siguiri, Koundara and the medical centers at Dabola and Dinguiraye;
- 3. A project for increasing and improving food and peanut producing cultivation in the Dabola region;
- 4. The construction or reconstruction and equipment of three refrigerated warehouses.
- 5. A factory for milk production;
- 6. The development of small-scale fishing and fish breeding.

To comply with the terms of Law No 73 regarding regional limits for the scope of FAI intervention and therefore integrate in a single program all the operations possible of implementation in view of the financing provided by said law, the Italian delegation settled for intervention in the Dabola and Dinguiraye region, among the worst affected by drought.

In agreement with the respective officials of the various ministries and on the basis of the aforementioned requests, the project proposed by the Italian delegation may be summarized as follows: A joint project in Dabola and Dinguiraye Prefectures:

- -- Runways to connect the areas of production with the subprefecture;
- -- Reconstruction of Dabola and Dinguiraye hospitals (the work may be entrusted to an ONG):
- -- A program to supply water to villages (100 drillings) in Dinguiraye Prefecture:
- -- A program to increase and improve foodstuff cultivation (rice, corn, and so on) as well as peanut cultivation in Dabola and Dinguiraye Prefectures.

In addition to this joint project, the Italian delegation was willing to study Guinean requests with regard to:

- -- Small-scale fishing (the establishment of a workshop to repair and restore engines, the establishment of other workshops, the supply of engines, boats and materials, a system for preserving and drying fish, technical aid and vocational training);
- -- The reconstruction and equipment of the refrigerated warehouse at the port of Conakry, the construction and equipment of a new refrigerated warehouse at Conakry Airport.

The Italian delegation also announced that an integrated rural development project in Labe Prefecture, included in the first list of priorities, had been submitted to the FAI for financing and would be carried out by an ONG (GVG).

This project is currently being examined by the consultative legal and technical committees as provided by Law No 73.

With respect to drugs, the Italian delegation confirmed its readiness to furnish the quantity of products agreed in the course of a mission to Guinea by Dr Antonelli, a FAI expert.

In view of the drought raging in the north of the country and the resulting nutritional and sanitary difficulties, the Guinean delegation is pleased that the FAI is considering the provision of drugs. At the same time, it emphasizes the need for food (rice, sugar, tomatoes, milk, oil, and so on), that would help schools and hospitals to cope with the drought.

While staying in Conakry, Counselor Pietro Porcarelli, head of the Italian delegation, was received by Tiana Diallo, minister in charge of water resources and forestry, and by Alhouseny Fofana, minister in charge of rural development. He explained to them the broad outlines of the integrated project of Dabola and Dinguiraye and got these respective authorities' approval in principle.

Signor De Luca, a FIA official, for his part, met with Alpha Oumar Diallo, director of fishery. At the end, the Italian and Guinean experts expressed their satisfaction with the atmosphere of cooperation and mutual understanding that distinguished their efforts.

#### PLANNING MINISTER DISCUSSES MINISTRY'S TASKS

Conakry HOROYA in French 3 Apr 86 p 7

[Interview with Edouard Benjamin, Minister at Presidency for Plan and International Cooperation by Mamadou Saliou Balde; date and place not given]

[Text] Since 3 April 1984, the Military Committee for National Redress and its president, Gen Lansana Conte, have assumed the historic mission of creating, guaranteeing and developing the well-being of the people by means of the people's own construction of a free and responsible society. To do all this, they are conceiving and-patiently and methodically-implementing a strategy of economic and social development, founded on contractual and decentralized planning.

On the eve of the second anniversary of the arrival of true freedom in Guinea and to find out more, we met with Edouard Benjamin who has the formidable honor of directing the Ministry for Plan and International Cooperation.

We are here reproducing the text of the interview kindly granted us by this cadre who is fully aware of his responsibilities.

[HOROYA] Minister, in his programmatic speech of 22 December last, the head of state referred particularly to "contractual and decentralized planning" as a tool for Guinea's balanced development. Could you please explain this approach to us?

[Benjamin] To properly appreciate the concept of "contractual and decentralized planning," it is important to keep in mind the government policy of disengaging the state from manufacturing activities, for the benefit of the private sector and social groups freely established, organized and responsible.

It is the aim of this policy first of all to ease the financial burden on the state and improve its institutional operation, subsequently to use fully the considerable human resources available to the country by liberating private initiative and, finally, to raise the productivity of all those involved in the economy, whether public or private.

Evidently, therefore, the state no longer envisions substituting itself for the local agencies at all levels in order to promote their development. At the same time it does not intend to shirk its own responsibilities.

In this context and in cooperation with the technical ministries and the provincial, regional and district authorities, contractual planning in my ministry will consist in deciding the investments to be carried out in future 3-year plans. It will also consist in determining the role to be played by the state and the local administrations in the realm of the conception and financial and physical implementation of these investments. We might, if you like, speak of a kind of contract-program between the state and the local administrative bodies, setting out the precise targets to be met and the technical, physical and financial contribution of the state and the communities.

Contractual planning is decentralized because the investments to be realized at the various levels of local agencies are conceived, prepared, evaluated and carried out by the interested parties instead of by the state as before.

It is up to my ministry to ensure that investments at the local and national level—in other words investment programs for a period of several years—are coherent and conform to our development and policy priorities within the limits of both our financial possibilities and technical execution. It goes without saying that the Ministry of Economy and Finance, the Ministry of Interior and all technical ministries have a very important role in providing a concrete content to this concept of contractual and decentralized planning.

[HOROYA] At first glance, the definition of a development project in our country is one of the objectives assigned your ministry; where have you gotten to with regard to the accomplishment of this urgent task?

[Benjamin] Defining a development project for the country is a task incumbent upon the entire government. It calls for the definition of an overall vision of the society we wish to build at the economic, financial, social and cultural level. This task is getting done, and the effects of the actions being undertaken are already felt. The role assigned my department in the construction of the new Guinean society is that of working out the details of investment programs in response to the policies and priorities of development as defined by the government.

We have just completed preparation of the investment budget for 1986. As soon as it is adopted by the government, we will begin to prepare a 3-year investment program for 1987-1989, which will be a reference paper for our government with respect to investments. The program will specify the objectives of macroeconomic and sectoral development during the plan period, the priorities with regard to investments and the subsequent follow-up projects.

This work will be finished before the end of August 1986. We will then try to mobilize our backers to provide a substantial part of the foreign exchange needed to carry out this program. I am envisaging a meeting of the Guinea consultative group in October 1986 for precisely this purpose, followed by

special meetings in 1987 to tie up the plan for financing this investment program.

[HOROYA] What are the other areas that might fall within the scope of your department?

[Benjamin] The other areas in the competence of my department involve first of all the promotion of international cooperation. Here we need to give a definite content to our cooperation with bilateral and multilateral institutions with regard to economic and financial affairs as well as scientific and cultural issues—always of course in the closest cooperation with the respective technical ministries.

Another area is the promotion of outside private investments, which is within the scope of the National Center for the Promotion of Private Investments. To accomplish this task, we are closely collaborating with the Ministry for Human Resources, the Ministry of Industry and PME [small and medium-size businesses], and other organizations charged with the promotion of private investments.

As in other fields, it is also necessary for us to take heed of the definition of our policy with regard to external debts and the management of technical aid.

[HOROYA] Do we now know the level of our country's debts and the amount of the debt service?

[Benjamin] The level of our country's debts and of debt service is quite well known now. We have just completed a survey of our debts including evaluation of the necessary debt service within the scope of the preparations for the meeting of the Club of Paris, set to begin on 18 April 1986. At the opportune moment, we will make available up-to-date data reflecting the result of negotiations with our creditors.

[HOROYA] What is the debt policy adopted by our government in order to put a stop to the waste of our already very limited resources?

[Benjamin] Our external debt policy will be carefully worked out once we are sure of the updated financial commitments to our creditors. For that we need to await the results of the Club of Paris meeting and, in particular, the effect of the rescheduling of our external debt.

I am already confidently assert that the essential points of our policy will be the following: Recourse to concessionary loans, in other words loans at very low rates of interest and with repayment terms in excess of 15-20 years. Such credits are available, and we simply must resolutely seek them out.

Secondly and as a corollary to the first point, we will have recourse to commercial loans once the priorities of debts on these terms is established and we have no choice but to assume such loans. Third is the need to

establish a ceiling for the annual external debt service consonant with a level acceptable to our economy.

We will therefore carefully work out an external debt policy in accordance with these principles as soon as our external debt is rescheduled.

[HOROYA] Another and not the least of the duties of your department consists in ensuring the proper coordination of the work of foreign experts who represent a major burden on our budget. What policy have you adopted in this matter?

[Benjamin] The management of external technical aid is a very delicate matter. To begin with and as you noted, there is the aspect of the "cost of technical aid" and its effect on the external debt. Foreign experts are very expensive, but it is obvious that we need them and will therefore continue to use to their services. There is also the aspect of the "quality of services rendered" so as to make sure that the cost is justified. Finally we need to take into account the "transfer of knowledge" to Guinean cadres, something that, in my opinion, is the ultimate aim of technical aid.

We are now preparing our policy with respect to technical aid and intend it to keep in mind these three parameters. Our policy will also aim at the greatest possible variety of expertise of these specialists as well as of their origin.

We have already taken a census of the experts employed by the economic and social ministries and other public institutions of an economic and financial nature. Our next task will be that of working out a system for the management of technical aid, in cooperation with the technical ministries (criteria for the choice of experts, the preparation of their terms of reference, the handling of their contracts, the systematic evaluation of their performance, incentives for greater productivity, the methods of their working with their Guinean counterparts, and so on and so forth).

[HOROYA] It is not easy to plan for a sick economy. Can you tell us here about the difficulties confronting you?

[Benjamin] The lack of reliable statistical data on macroeconomic conditions means that all economic and financial projections on which planning is based are bound to be uncertain. We encounter the same difficulties at the microeconomic level.

We are nevertheless about to reconstitute these data, and the National Center for Computer Data and Management (CNIG) is now engaged in a remarkable effort with regard to agricultural statistics and the national accounts. Our working program should allow us before the end of 1988 to have available the proper statistical tools and the instruments required for the reliable management of the economy.

Despite these difficulties I am optimistic about the outlook for the development of our country. The prescription handed down for our recovery is sound. The first results of the conduct of this recovery program are

satisfactory. Our potential in the matter of material and human resources is appreciable. There is therefore no reason for us not to succeed, provided we persevere in our efforts.

[HOROYA] A vast range of work needs to be mastered, from the coordination of sectorial policies to the working out of a development budget. What do you expect from the various interested sectors with regard to the realization of these major objectives?

[Benjamin] Intelligent, persevering cooperative efforts, motivated entirely by the national interest.

11698 CSO: 3419/257 MILITARY COUNCIL OFFICIAL ON CIVILIAN RULE

MB232103 London BBC World Service in English 1515 GMT 23 May 86

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Earlier this week, a number of Lesotho opposition parties that originally supported the toppling of Chief Jonathan by Major General Lekhanya's Military Council on 20 January became disenchanted and apparently in defiance of Order No 4 that outlaws overt political activity, issued a highly critical statement about the new regime. They claimed it was autocratic, that it ignored their opinions, that it made arbitrary arrests, locked up journalists and was aiming to stay in power rather than hand back to civilian rule through free and fair elections. Well, one of the most powerful men in Lesotho is civil servant Tom Tabane who is in London at the moment. He is secretary to the Military Council. Robin White asked Tom Tabane what he made of the parties' accusation that Maj Gen Lekhanya was turning his back on return to civilian rule.

[Begin recording] [Tabane] I think if these people came there with this kind of accusation 5 years from now, or even 3, 4 years from now, one would start thinking there is a point in what they are saying, but we are only talking between the 20 January and now, and having just been in the country and going back to the country in fact, I think the job of bringing reconciliation, which was destroyed for 20 years, and bringing people together to start working together, to start going to the fields, to start developing agriculture, to start rebuilding their houses which were burned down, to start coming back from Botswana, Zambia, South Africa, and so on and resettle in Lesotho, you need some time for this. While we are doing all this and while General Lekhanya is doing all these things, he is now being accused of entrenching himself in power. I don't think that is true. He has repeatedly said in the public meetings he has held, most of which I attended myself, he has repeatedly said that as soon as the conditions that caused him to take power have been met, he will go back to the barracks, and I think he is serious about it.

[White] How long do you, yourself, think that is going to be for him to go back to the barracks?

[Tabane] I think that he has deliberately avoided making the usual timetable that is so often made following coups in Africa, and I see a little bit of sense in this because he is saying, as soon as the people are ready, he will go. I cannot myself predict how long this will take, but I can't see this taking a very long time, not the way he seems to be thinking.

[White] You think within 1 year, 2 years, how long roughly--5 years?

[Tabane] I would be very happy if you didn't pin me up to any timetable, but I think between now and the next 5 years, we should have sorted out the whole thing.

[White] Why do you think these parties are complaining now?

[Tabane] I am a little bit surprised that they are complaining because they had all of that 20 years to sort it out with their fellow politician, Chief Jonathan, and they didn't sort it out. I am a little bit surprised that now when somebody comes up and says: Let us put the nation together, the very parties that had split the nation so badly, come up and accuse the man of doing this and doing that and doing the next thing. I think these people are being terribly unfair, and I think that it is also a little bit questionable just how much support each one of them must have as an individual. I think the test of just how much the people of Lesotho are prepared to individually go for a party A, B, C, or D, is a question that the nation should be given a little time to sort out.

[White] The thing that seems to annoy them most is Order No 4 which bans the holding of political meetings, bans political discussions. Now don't you think that that decree is a bit unfortunate?

[Tabane] I think that if the politicians had, in the first place, behaved in a manner that did not bring the nation to the situation that they brought it, there would have been absolutely no need for such an order, but the order follows simply upon an obtaining situation, and I think that as far as I can see and as far as I have heard the general himself talk and his colleagues talk, in fact, I think that this is an interim measure, as far as they are concerned—that they are saying it is party political issues that divided the nation and if it is party political issues that did divide this nation, let us suspend this thing that was the very cause of the divisions that happened.

[White] You seem to be implying that, in fact, Order No 4 might be lifted quite soon?

[Tabane] That I didn't think that Order No 4 was going to stay on the statutes for longer than was necessary, I don't think so.

[White] Could I ask about the relationship, if any, at the moment between Maj Gen Lehkanya and Chief Jonathan? What is the position?

[Tabane] After the military takeover, the military left chief Jonathan at his private residence in Kolonyama, and they left with him certain people who formed his personal bodyguard and two of those people are still there, they still look after him. I think the intention there is to give him all the protection, the official protection, that he may require. Other than that there hasn't been any real formal contact.

[White] Is he a powerful man still that he could create trouble for you if he wanted to?

[Tabane] That is a very difficult question, but I doubt that he will.

[White] Why?

[Tabane] I think that the power base that had developed in the country in the form of the party political organization, in the form of the youth wing, in the form of all these other things, has sort of suddenly just gone flat, and if the party as an organization still exists, I do not know and I cannot comment on that, but if it still exists, it will be up to him and members of his party, of course, as and when the occasion comes, for them to come back to the political arena.

[White] What has happened to all those youth wingers who used to support him?

[Tabane] They were all disarmed. Those who worked in the government, most of those who worked in the government, still keep their jobs. Those who worked in private jobs still hold their jobs, those who were university students still continue their studies. I think, basically, those who were affected were those who were in the army itself, because they, unfortunately, were involved in certain things that have caused them to appear in court, but all others are in the country and carrying on with their business as usual. The only exception is that they are no longer allowed now to act as they did before and they no longer carry arms to threaten people as they did before. [end recording]

/9604 CSO: 3400/1853

#### BRIEFS

RAIL PROTECTION DENIED MAPUTO--Swaziland officials refused to grant a Mozambican request for Swazi Army protection of the railroad connecting it to Maputo. This request was made by President Samora Machel during a visit to Mbabane. One other request, however, was granted. It calls for the compulsive return of draft age Mozambicans to Mozambique. The railroad in question has been the target of sabotage which has hurt its operations. [Text] [Lisbon SEMANARIO in Portuguese 12 Apr 86 p 30] 9935/12947

CSO: 3442/194

# AID TO WESTERN CAPE BLACK AREA DISCUSSED

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 12 Apr 86 p 9

[Article by Retief Pienaar: "No Slums, But Still Backwardness in W. Cape"]

[Text] At least nine black neighborhoods in the area of the Western Cape Development Board can benefit from the special financial provision in the recent budget for improving infrastructure services. Although, according to the Western Cape Development Board, there are no critical conditions, there is still great backwardness in that area.

Mr Timo Bezuidenhout. regional representative of the Department Constitutional Development and Planning in the Western Cape said that no black area under the jurisdiction of the Western Cape Development Board can be termed a slum neighborhood. In Zweletemba, the black neighborhood at Worcester, where there have been repeated incidents of unrest in recent months, the streets are poor and rocky and the houses relatively old, but, according to Mr Bezuidenhoud, these are not critical circumstances. There are 1,036 residences, all supplied with water; the street lights are in fair condition and all the houses have flush sanitation. There are storm water pipes, but the houses do not have power. Although conditions are thus relatively not too bad, they could always be better, Mr Bezuidenhoud says.

#### Tackled

According to him, the backwardness came about by the Western Cape having been neglected for years because it was believed there would eventually be no Blacks here. The policy of preference for Coloreds in the Western Cape was a method not to encourage the presence of Blacks. Mr Bezuidenhoud says the development of black areas was tackled on a larger scale in the past four years, but still not enough. The development started to get momentum last year after the policy of preference was changed. More money has been made available since last year. The deputy minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Piet Badenhorst, visited some of the black areas in the Western Cape last week and held talks with community council members. The talks held at Hermanus led to R248,000 being made available for completing the flush sanitation system in the black neighborhood.

#### Ground

There is a lack of athletic facilities and a community hall in that black township. Upgrading the power network is being investigated with a view to improvement and so that Blacks who choose to have power in their homes can get Mr Badenhorst says there is also a need for athletic facilities in Kayamandi at Stellenbosch, but the real problem is ground. The neighborhood is full, and the possibility of two-story buildings will be investigated. According to Mr Badenhorst, Nduli at Ceres is a nice little township, but According to him. there is also a need for athletic facilities there. Nbekweni at Paarl needs urgent attention, for the roads are bad and to an extent there are squatter conditions. Many Blacks who come from Transkei and Ciskei live there in other residents' backyards in "little shacks" which they Ground is available for expansion, and planning rent from the inhabitants. will be accelerated so that lots can be made available to the people. contractor who was engaged in improving the roads had financial problems. new bid is being tendered shortly. There is also a shortage of athletic An authority in facilities and a need for a police station in that area. Paarl will help to get a swimming pool built in that black area.

#### Water

According to Mr Bezuidenhoud, current spending in the black township at Worcester includes cleaning up the area, upgrading living quarters, self-building projects, the planning of 50 shell houses and the construction of a nursery. There are plans in fiscal 1986/87 to provide infrastructure services such as water, roads and flush sanitation for an additional 170 residential plots at Worcester and to provide loans for material for erecting structures on those 170 plots. Furnishing electricity to the whole township and planning a further 120 plots are also under consideration in that fiscal year. There are plans to make available R50,000 for improving roads throughout the whole township in that fiscal year. The estimated expenditure for that year is R3.2 million.

### Changed

It is anticipated that R855,000 will be made available in 1987/88 for further There are provisions in fiscal 1988/89 for providing improving roads. services to 78 living quarters which are going to be changed into living units, as well as for the 120 plots mentioned above. There are also plans to provide material loans for those plots in that year. Total spending in that There are prospective plans for a R300,000 year will be about R1.6 million. Mr Bezuidenhoud says Zweletamba is one of the recreation hall in 1989/90. areas which will be able to claim a part of the R320 million that has been made available in the budget for improvement. Others are Nyanga, Langa and Guguletu in the Peninsula, Nbekweni at Paarl, Nkqubela at Roberston (where more houses are needed), Zolani at Ashton (which is worse than Zweletamba and needs attention), Nduli at Ceres (where conditions are fair), Xwelihle at According to Mr Bezuidenhoud, the Hermanus and Kayamandi at Stellenbosch. government cannot build houses for people who cannot pay their rent. Economical homes cannot be provided for sub-economical people. Therefore,

low-cost housing is being thoroughly investigated, and self-building plans are encouraged and people are being helped by the furnishing of subsidized building material and a subsidized infrastructure.

#### Proud

A combination of the people's own sweat and subsidized building material offers a solution, Mr Bezuidenhoud says. There is at present no community council for the black township at Worcester. Nevertheless, he is now conducting talks with a group of seven residents with a view to setting up a form of local black management later. Mr Bezuidenhoud says radicalization is the order of the day in Worcester and is being done by a small group of people and the youths. The silent majority are intimidated by the ANC and UDF to such an extent that they are panic-striken.

#### Standstill

"By removing essential grievances, making the residents proud of their townships and improving their standard and quality of living, the silent majority must be helped to stand up and fight radicalism. A South Africanism must take root among them in spite of the ANC's onslaught. We must look beyond the radicalism to development, for that is where the bonuses are waiting. The radicals must not be allowed to bring development to a standstill. There is still goodwill, although to a lesser extent," Mr Bezuidenhoud said. Mr Badenhorst says stability in the smaller black communities is absolutely necessary. This can be brought about by the people's needs being met. A big gap in the areas are recreational facilities. He expressed the hope of an organization being established in the Western Cape which can help to provide those facilities.

## INCREASE OF ANTIVIOLENCE SUPPORT SEEN AS UPSETTING TO LEFT

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 12 Apr 86 p 9

[Article by Dawie: "Resolute Spirit Against Violence Is Becoming Horror for Leftists"]

The resolute spirit against revolutionary violence, lawlessness and [Text] terrorism which have taken root in South Africa is sowing havoc in leftist As always, this is most evident in the Federal Progressive Party, ranks. whose Achilles' heel for years has been the divergent approaches of its A cold wind is blowing from the clashing factions to national security. voters against anyone who even arouses the slightest suspicion that he is This has implications permissive toward bomb throwers and kangaroo courts. for everyone in politics, but it especially affects the PFP. That party, already in distress over the shocking way in which its former leader recently left it in the lurch, is only falling deeper into difficulty as the official opposition. That realization must offer the explanation for the extraordinary touchiness of the Progressive whip, Mr Brian Bamford, because of Minister F.W. de Klerk having accused the Progs in the Volksraad of "sabotaging" the police. The Speaker's chair decided that this was not an unparliamentarian use of Nevertheless, Mr Bamford led a Prog walkout from the Volksraad and later threatened "big trouble."

#### An Atheist

After the walkout there were at first horses [sic], for in the subsequent debate the minister of law and order, Mr Louis le Grange, made effective use of a letter which the controversial Prog MP for Pietermaritzburg North, Mr Mr McIntosh referred to the Graham McIntosh, had written to the Prog press. recent failed attempt of the UDF, a so-called nonviolent movement, to arrange political funeral in Pietermaritzburg for Mr Moses Mabhida, secretary general of the South African Communist Party and a member of the ANC's executive committee. Mr McIntosh wanted to know where the UDF stands vis-a-vis the ANC, and vis-a-vis such an atheist who supports violence? It is rather of interest that he himself is asking such critical questions these days. McIntosh is the MP who unleashed an enormous storm in the Volksraad last year Among other things, he accused the with a number of contentious allegations. Under pressure he later retracted Defense Force of terrorism and sabotage. expressions such as "the gassing of Jews, Slavs and Gypies" and "Fidel Castro

look-alikes," as well as a reference to General Magnus Malan as "the Qadhafi of southern Africa." Now he is starting to sing a different tune. Obviously he would not want to be seen dead at such a UDF funeral for a communist. But when Minister Le Grange asked Mrs Suzman whether she would attend it, she snapped: "Why not?"

### Red Flag

This offered Minister Le Grange an opening to further wedge apart the conspicuous dissension in the PFP, also with searing criticism of those who Such dissension is continuing in attend funerals under the communist flag. the PFP in spite of the remaining small group of Progs' attempts to dissociate themselves from Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's ("Van who?" they ask in the Prog press) desertion. as well as their whispered stories about "a new team spirit." spirit reigning here and there among Progs against the security forces, even against the parliament as an institution, the final disposer over law This applies not only to cannot be just reasoned away. extraparliamentary activities of Dr Slabbert and his chief lieutenant, leftist Dr Boraine (who also deserted), in their flirtation with the UDF. This spirit is just as saliently perceived in the case, for example, of the PFP's routine propagandist, Mr Jan van Eck, who aspires to succeed Dr Slabbert When it comes to blatant attacks on the police, this Prog who spent his compulsory military service time in the Netherlands does not take a backseat to anyone. In the Cape Provincial Council he attributed the violence to "hooligans in police uniforms" and alleged that it looks like the police beating and tear-gassing people. derive pleasure from shooting, sentiments evidently still run deep in the PFP.

#### High Demands

A wave of reaction against that is already affecting that party and parts of the Prog press, and it is going to increasingly do so; all the more so because effective security action against lingering riots cannot occur overnight, but only through persistent efforts against a calculated revolutionary onslaught. Moreover, the security action must be coupled with significant socio-economic progress, as well as political development, in order to assure permanent success. The voters are very obviously not going to trust leftists like the Progs with leading the country through a period which makes such demands.

## EDITORIAL URGES BISHOP TUTU TO PROMOTE RECONCILIATION

. Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 16 Apr 86 p 8

[Editorial: "Archbishop Tutu"]

Bishop Tutu was quite right when he said that his being selected as of the Anglican Church in southern Africa put a "tremendous leader responsibility" on him. The responsibility would in any case have been great; it became "tremendous" through his own doing, which has made a controversial figure of him. The fact that he is a Black has nothing to do with the matter. It is perfectly understandable that a Black was considered for that high post He owes his in a church where about 80 percent of the members are black. controversiality to his conduct in recent years, which culminated in his call for sanctions against South Africa two weeks before he was selected. This has inevitably aroused a sharp reaction, not only from the broad public, but also The reaction would have been no less vehement in the Anglican Church itself. if such an appeal had come from a white churchman in Bishop Tutu's position.

The temptation to persevere on the beaten path can be great for Archbishop Tutu, because he will be able to speak with even greater authority in that capacity than that with which he was invested by being awarded the Nobel Peace We do not think that he deserved the prize, not yet, but we do not presume to give our opinion on his merits as a church leader; that is a matter We heartily hope that he will not that concerns only his church companions. That could be disastrous, both for his church and yield to the temptation. As against that, he could contribute a lot to the country as a whole. He would have to start in his own church reconciliation in his new capacity. by exorcising the tension that has been created by his own conduct. sincerely hope that he will succeed in this, in the first place for the sake of the church itself, but in the second place also because that could help to If something comes from pave the way to reconciliation in a broader sphere. that under his leadership, we would be willing also not to begrudge him the Nobel Peace Prize.

## STELLENBOSCH THEOLOGIAN DEFENDS REDISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 16 Apr 86 p 9

[Article by Freek Swart: "Reflect About Man as the Image of God"]

[Text] Church reformer John Calvin was also a socio-economic reformer and, according to some scholars, if he were alive today, would have advised the government to bring about a redistribution of income and urge people to work harder and live in a simpler manner. It is also said that Calvin would have expected the Protestant churches in South Africa to more actively intervene for a more just social order through preaching and conversion. In this final article in the series about Calvin, Freek Swart describes how Danie du Toit, professor of ethics at the Theological Seminary at Stellenbosch, interprets the Bible with regard to wealth, poverty, property, work and redistribution of income, and how he sees the NG [Dutch Reformed] Church's task with regard to setting up a just economic order in South Africa.

The necessity of setting up a just economic order in South Africa -- whether Calvin would have advocated that now, or whoever -- is already being generally accepted, according to Professor Danie du Toit. But when one talks about that, one must duly reflect about matters such as work and property, for which the most profound reasons for reflection are to be found in the inviolability of life, in man as an image of God, who without sustenance will not be able to carry out his responsibilities and missions vis-a-vis God, himself and his fellow man. "This simply means that any dearth of sustenance is a matter which deserves the immediate and serious attention of the church and believers." According to Prof Du Toit, the concluion must thus be made that the minimum demand of such an order is that of basic sustenance for all, which at least will have to relate to food, clothing and housing.

#### Question

"The Scriptures are clear about the principles of justness and fairness, and Calvin also would have advised that in proclaiming the Word in the church there must be insistence on a just dispensation, an acceptable relationship between wages and work, the creation of job opportunities, work responsibility and diligence, a peaceful and orderly society and also the actual practice of Christian compassion." According to Prof Du Toit, a just economic order will necessarily have to pay more precise attention to the question of the just

A Contract of the State

relationship between work and wages. He mentions that the Ten Commandments and Paul proceed from an assumption of a definite correlationship existing between wages and work: "Underpayment (exploitation by the employer), as well as underperformance (exploitation by the worker), are a disruption of the relationship."

#### Wealth

"In the modern economic setup, inflation -- with its accompanying wage-price spiral -- disrupts the relationship precisely because it makes underpayment, as well as exaggerated wage demands, possible and real." Professor Du Toit says the Scriptures do not condemn wealth: "The emphasis falls rather on the way that it is possessed and spent. Miserly greed and the irresponsible waste of earthly goods are in conflict with the nature of Christian stewardship, which Calvin also emphasized. It is undoubtedly true that not all people have the character and personality qualities to avoid the temptations which occur from the power that wealth gives one. Wealth also holds danger for those who do not possess it and may themselves live in a state of need and injustice possibly as a result of the wealth of others."

Concerning the redistribution of wealth, Prof Du Toit says a just economic system should always remain sensitive to the ideas of a just redistribution of prosperity. "Such a redistribution does not necessarily mean that universal equality of possession is made a goal. Although some may picture it that way, especially in revolutionary circles, it should be based according to a Christian ethic mainly on two objectives. "Firstly, a redistribution of prosperity should -- without going into the manner in which it should occur -- be aimed at making basic sustenance available to all, without regard to persons; and in the second place this means that no one is limited to the level of basic sustenance. Within the correlation of labor and wages it should in principle be possible for everyone to be able to rise higher in conformity with personal initiative and diligence. However, this variation of possession must be questioned insofar as it becomes an inequality connected with unequal opportunities and structural injustice."

Professor Du Toit says that, after all has been said about property, one thing stands firm for the Christian: like all gifts from God, man must in the first place use his possessions to honor God and in the service of His Kingdom. This can only happen along the route of genuine stewardship, which forms the nucleus of the Christian work and property ethic. This stewardship especially obtains form on the basis of the commandment of love. Therefore, the first demand of the faithful possessor is that his property is gratefully received from the hand of God and is devoted to His service. The second, which is equal to this, is that it should also be possessed with a view to one's fellow man.

#### Widow

"Firstly, this love of one's neighbor demands that insofar as possible every person will be given the opportunity for life-sustaining work, which immediately presumes the requirement of fair compensation and safe working conditions that respect the personal, social, religious, economic and family

dimensions of the worker. "Secondly there is the requirement of compassion for those in need; for the stranger, the orphan and the widow; the right of the hungry passerby; the gifts of love to those who are thirsty, hungry, naked and in prison. Many believers will still have to learn that this task of the church is a service which stands under an inescapable need. There are still too many people who think charity is optional."

### Influence

Professor Du Toit stressed that a just economic order does not merely concern the material compensation of the worker. "In fact it is such that the total working conditions — which of course include wages — exercise a tremendous influence on the total life experience and quality of life of man. This naturally involves the fundamental unity of man: man as homo occumenicus is not another type of man or an isolated aspect of mankind. The worker is always a member of a family, a religious person, a person with cultural, social and athletic needs. Therefore, an economic order which hampers healthy family life, living conditions, social activities or religion is in essence an unjust economic order.

#### Task

Concerning the church's task, Prof Du Toit says that in its powerful prophetic proclamation the church should direct itself against all forms of sin in the church and in society, but especially, perhaps more than in the past, it will have to concentrate on scriptural promulgation regarding human worthiness and justice, man, his work and property. "One of the most important contributions of the church continue to be its opportunities to actively bring about essential changes and improvements on the local level. Through its priestly, social and diaconal involvement, a local congregation can not only improve human relations, but help to improve things such as the standard of living, health, housing, cultural activities etc. for underdeveloped individuals and groups. A certain congregation, a certain diaconate, even a small group of believers can start this kind of campaign in its direct environment. There are places in the world where this is being done with great success.

# BLACKS' POOR HOUSING DESCRIBED AS HURTING ENTIRE COUNTRY

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 16 Apr 86 p 8

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[Article by Dawie: "Money for Blacks Is Spent in the Interest of Whole Country"

[Text] One of the reproaches which the government must often listen to is that it does too much for the Blacks. That is propaganda which finds acceptance with quite a few people, especially in the current situation of unrest. The reasoning is more or less that people who throw gasoline bombs or stones should be left to their fate; they do not deserve anything better. What the critics mostly do not take into account is that those who want to have the country go up in flames would have found many less willing hands if the living conditions of Blacks were only better. The seed of unrest falls on fertile ground wherever there are justified grievances. That is a lesson of the world's history. Let's be honest: The conditions is many black and Colored residential areas lend themselves to exploitation. Deputy Minister Piet Badenhorst's description of some black residential neighborhoods is that, compared with those for Coloreds and Whites, they are an "ulcer" in society.

#### Huddled Together

When 5,000 people have four or five water faucets, unhygienic conditions with sewage arise, families are huddled together and educational and recreational facilities are lacking, the fomenter of unrest has virtually everything he And if the flame is once lighted, he carries it further with needs. intimidation, as it evident from a series of articles which have just appeared in DIE BURGER. The whole "system" gets the blame. That is why community councils have become such an important target, for they and the development boards are instruments of authority. There are several causes for the precarious living conditions of many thousands of colored people, and it is easy to be wise after the event. Money was not always available, but mistakes If the permanence of Blacks in the so-called white areas had were also made. accepted sooner, housing and facilities could have also been dealt with Equally, the policy of preference for Coloreds, which until earlier. relatively recently was in effect for the Western and Southern Cape and parts of the Eastern Cape and the Karoo, resulted in great handicaps. The official premise was that there would eventually be no Blacks in those areas. Therefore, for example, the last house was built in the black residentual area

at Worcester in the 1950's, and the houses are still without electricity. One of the results is that radicalization is the order of the day there. Planning has not been carried out elsewhere in the country. The black residentual area at Warmbad, where the white residents had to come to the rescue recently when all the Blacks took part in a strike, was to have been moved twelve years ago already. That did not happen, and the people were exposed to conditions where no self-pride could develop.

## Red Tape

The establishment of administration councils with fragmented control was probably also not always in the best interest of the country. Red tape and corruption here and there also took a toll. How is it possible that a Black applies for a house and waits for two years in vain, but that he gets his house in three days when there is someone who is willing to take a shortcut? All those things which have taken place do not make it easier today to improve people's quality of living. As soon as there are signs of upheaval in a community, the radicals jump on it. Official contact between local management boards and black residents has already been broken off in some cases by members of community councils having resigned, often out of fear. situations can arise more easily that way. The government realizes that a program of socio-economic reconstruction is necessary. That is why R320 million is provided in the budget this year for upgrading the basic infrastructure in black areas. This is part of the one billion rands which President P. W. Botha promised in August for that purpose.

## Radicalization

It is money which is being spent in the interest of the whole country, not only of a specific community. In the words of a senior official: "We must look beyond radicalization to development, for the bonuses are awaiting that. The radicals must not be allowed to bring development to a standstill. there is still goodwill, although to a lesser extent." Of course, better living conditions alone cannot bring the unrest to an end. That is but one element of the counterstrategy needed. The maintenance of law and order must continue, and Blacks must help to end the reign of terror of the "necklace" and the gasoline bomb. Political answers must be found in the final analysis. It is a case of doing one thing and not neglecting the other.

## BLACK REFUSAL TO PAY RENT VIEWED AS LONG-RANGE THREAT

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 17 Apr 86 p 10

[Editorial: "Impossible Demands"]

[Text] There can be sympathy with Blacks, some perhaps unemployed, who find it difficult to pay their house rent in the present economic circumstances. However, it is something quite different when people refuse to pay their rent because they want to live gratis, as is now happening in the Peninsula. It is a complete misconception that a government should just provide housing without even getting any income from it. Not even the socialist countries can afford such generosity. The question is whether most Blacks came to such a conclusion by themselves or whether some elements are putting them up to it. The latter seems probable in view of the intimidation going on to prevent rent from being paid. The leader of a black trade-union federation also recently harangued against rental payment at a gathering. According to him, the money is employed, among other things, to buy more police vehicles which are used against Blacks.

This kind of misleading propaganda is dangerous while the police have become the target of agitators of unrest. Sooner or later it may lead to action against people who do not pay rent. At the same time it becomes more difficult to improve living conditions in the black residential areas. Rental money is in fact an important source of income for the development boards for the construction of new houses and the creation of better and more facilities. One of the demands now being made is that the existing houses should be enlarged. The money for that has to come from somewhere. The message will have to be conveyed to Blacks that they are hurting themselves by making impossible demands. That can best be done by Blacks themselves. There are many among them who realize those dangers.

# TEACHERS PROTEST DELAY OF EDUCATION REFORMS

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 18 Apr 86 p 3

[Article by education reporter: "`Ten Years Is Too Long' -- Mixed Feelings About Education Plan"]

Educationists yesterday welcomed the ten-year plan for upgrading education, announced the day before yesterday by Mr F.W. de Klerk, Minister of National Education, with mixed feelings. Mr Franklin Sonn, chairman of the Capeland Professional Teachers' Union (KPO) and the Union of Teachers' Association [sic] of South Africa (Utasa) told DIE BURGER yesterday the announcement is welcomed, but it is too bad that they have to wait ten years for rectifying such a serious matter. "As teachers, we naturally welcome such announcements. On the other hand, we regret the fact that we have to wait ten years for rectifying such an urgent matter. We are also sorry that no mention was made of what the government intends to do about the large-scale waste of assets in so-called white education, for example the underutilization of And something like that would obviously help to educational facilities. remove the imbabalnce more quickly." Concerning the minister's appeal not to see the announcement within the context of politics, he said "that's a strange appeal, in view of the fact that the essence of the problem -- racially divided education -- is a political question. He added that a scientific investigation and moderate recommendations (by the De Lange Commission) were rejected by the government for political reasons.

### Shortage of Facilities

Mr Pat Samuels, chairman of the Teachers' Association of South Africa (Tasa), yesterday termed the ten-year plan a "step in the right direction," but said the ten-year planning period is too long. "We think that a ten-year planning period is too long for the present circumstances and shortage of facilities in black education. A five-year period would have been better, because it would indicate a greater urgency with regard to solving the true needs of black education." He further said the four percent increase in educational expenditures is not big enough to have a substantial effect on the great backwardness in black education.

Professor Donald Carr, acting vice chancellor of the University of Cape Town, said he is pleased to see there is a significant increase in the expenditure

on education, especially in the parts which are experiencing the biggest handicap. "However, there is no sense in improving school conditions for Blacks in South Africa under a divided educational system. We must move toward equal educational opportunities, and that means one minister and one educational system."

## HENDRICKSE PRAISES COLORED PARTICIPATION IN MILITARY

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 21 Apr 86 p 9

[Article: "SAKK Helps Create Safe Climate"]

[Text] "It demands a big sacrifice of parents to give up a beloved son to the Defense Force. There are questions and even misgivings by the nature of such a decision; often discouragement too. We and the Republic of South Africa want to thank you for giving up your sons — in the midst of all your worries — in order to create the safe climate in which we can continue to make important adjustments to our ethnic relations." This was what the Rev. Allan Hendrickse, chairman of the Council of Ministers in the Council of Representatives, said the day before yesterday at the review parade of the 1st SAKK [SA Cape Corps] Training Unit at Faure.

About 5,000 people attended the parade. The Rev. Hendrickse said unity has been built on the foundations of traditions and history in which South Africa's Colored community has over many years contributed its military share to the country's weal and woe. One of the most important elements that the Coloreds can rightly be proud of is their faithfulness and loyality to South Africa in times of emergency, regardless of what government has been in power. "We are living in a period of difficult circumstances of unemployment, unrest and fomentation of unrest, but also in times when we are tring to improve the standard of living of all our people in SA in all spheres. Although we are often handicapped by radical influences and attitudes, we want to bring about mutual understanding for each other and reconciliation among all our people," he further said.

#### Two New Companies

The SADF [SA Defense Force] consists of all population groups merged together to assure a common goal — the protection of the Republic. A policy of equality of rank and commission has been pursued since 1975, when the first Colored officers were commissioned in the Defense Force. The Defense Force has eliminated anything which may lead to friction and discord within its own ranks. Last year there was great dismay when large numbers of young men who came to sign up for military duty were sent home disappointed because the Defense Force could not house them. Starting in January, two new units, the 2nd SAKK Battalion for volunteers and the Cape Regiment for militia members,

were formed to overcome the problem. Place was made for almost 2,000 additional members in the two units.

"Change is irrevocably the order of the day in South Africa. The government can only bring change to our system of living in an atmosphere of peace and tranquility. In creating such a situation, the Defense Force is from time to time expected to help with restoring and preserving law and order," the Rev. Hendrickse said. The responsibility of carrying out their duties with dignity now rests on the shoulders of the volunteers. Their conduct should always be of such a nature that they gain and keep the public's respect and esteem without neglecting their duty and losing dignity. Cups were presented to the following achievers: Privates K. Baron (the neatest student), J. Stewart (best shot), W. Drieberg (sharpest student), R. January (best overall student), Capt Marthinus Lott of H Company (best company with regard to projects) and Maj Eben Swanepoel of C Company (best athletic company, best marksmanship company and also the best company).

#### KWAZULU-NATAL UNION SEEN AS EXPERIMENTAL SOLUTION

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 21 Apr 86 p 8

[Editorial: "The KwaNatal Option"]

[Text] The state president's announcement of a joint executice body for KwaZulu and Natal has several positive implications for second-level government, not only in Natal, but also elsewhere in the country. This body, in which KwaZulu and Natal wll have equal representation, will handle and manage numerous matters which so far have been the provincial administration's responsibility. This will take place according to the principle of joint decisionmaking on the basis of consensus. That way of doing things, which is also endorsed at the Natal indaba, is based on a realistic acceptance of South Africa's particular problems with all its ethnic and cultural differences. The government and the TBVC countries have for a long time already been approaching matters of common interest on that basis.

President Botha has left the possibility open that the circle may be drawn wider than Natal/KwaZulu. Similar agreements of cooperation between other provinces and self-governing black states may in the future also form part of a new scheme for second-level government that is being worked on at present. The government is further carrying through an important principle by ratifying the KwaNatal option: that certain regions in the country have distinctive characteristics and problems which require distinctive solutions. The ideal is for them to be found through peaceful negotiation involving all parties concerned. The indaba has quite satisfied this with the establishment of the executive body. However, the indaba is getting in the political sphere with its plan for a joint legislative body. The government has serious misgivings about this because of the broad political implications of that. proposals for constitutional reforms which belong rather in the domain of the National Statutory Council.

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#### IMPORTANCE OF MOZAMBICAN PORTS TO BLACK ASPIRATIONS CITED

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 29 Apr 86 p 12

[Article: "Mozambique's Harbors Play Important Role in Black Plans"]

[Text] Mozambique's three ports play an extremely important role in black southern Africa's aspiration to become economically less dependent on South Africa. It is evident from an analysis of the situation by Sapa-AP from Maputo that, in spite of progress in recent time, a lot of work awaits before the realization of that aspiration comes into view.

"It's a vicious circle," was the remark of the Dutch vice consul in Maputo, Mr John Roosegaarde Bisschop, whose country has for some time been giving aid to improve Mozambique's harbors. "The Mozambicans have to demonstrate the security and efficiency of the road, rail and harbor system before businessmen will use it more. But how can they demonstrate that if the businessmen do not want to use it before they are satisfied?" The reasons put forward as to why Mozambique's ports at Maputo, Beira and Nakala are avoided are chronic inefficiency, a shortage of trained managers and technicians, antiquated equipment and the protracted civil war between the Marxist regime of President Samora Machel and the Renamo anti-communist rebel movement.

## Stumbling Block

A survey of Mozambique by the World Bank brought to light last year that international traffic along Mozambique's 3,000-km long rail lines decreased by 80 percent between 1973 and 1983. It decreased by 70 percent in the ports -- from 13.4 million tons of freight in 1973 to 3.6 million in 1983. The single most important stumbling block is the security problem, according to the report. Renamo rebels have blown up bridges, laid ambushes for convoys and damaged rail lines, locomotives and cars. The report also brought out the shortage of management and technical personnel, which became much worse in 1975 when 90 percent of the 250,000 Portuguese fled the country upon its becoming independent.

#### Lot of Trouble

Other factors mentioned by the World Bank are the unreliability of the transportation services, a backwardness of 20 years in maintenance and a shortage of food and other articles, which detrimentally influence workers' morale. Mozambique's three ports play a very important role in black southern

Africa's aspiration to make itself economically independent of South Africa. The Southern African Conference for Coordinating Development (SACCD), which was founded in 1980 with nine member states, decided to pump 60 percent of its planned transportation investments into Mozambique with that goal in mind. The Netherlands especially took a lot of trouble to give aid and since 1981 has spent more than R128 million to restore Mozambique's second-largest port, Beira. That port is located just 240 km from Zimbabwe's border and is thus very important politically and economically. But in spite of this, Zimbabwean businessmen pay little attention to their political leaders' appeals to ignore the routes through South Africa to Durban, East London and Port Elizabeth and to concentrate on Beira or Maputo. South Africa offers cheap rates to enterprises which want to use its sophisticated and much more efficient network of rail lines.

#### Coal

Mr Robert Crul, deputy chief of the Africa department of the Dutch ministry of foreign affairs, who was recently in Maputo on a visit, says 90 percent of Zimbabwe's imports and exports come through South Africa in spite of the fact that the distance to Beira is much shorter and the transportation costs thus Before Mozambique became independent, the area handled the great much less. majority of the old Rhodesia's imports and exports. Zimbabwean business organizations estimate that only about a million of the countries eight million tons of imports and exports are now transported every year through This is mostly steel, sugar and coal which is exported through Mozambique. Maputo and tobacco through Beira. It is difficult to get statistics of any kind in Mozambique, but according to the World Bank, Maputo handled three to four million tons of goods in 1985. The port's public relations official, Mr Joao Abdul, himself estimates it at two million tons, and Western diplomats do not think it was more than a million tons.

### Not Enough

Mozambique is now trying to improve its inefficient railway network and ports with the aid of several Western donators. Most of the work is being done in Beira, where the Dutch expect that about three million tons per year can be handled by December. This would then be twice the present capacity. It is expected that the three Mozambican ports will be able to handle seven million tons next year, but this will still not be at all enough to meet Zimbabwe's needs — and then one is still not even talking of other countries in southern Africa. The Mozambicans are very honest and readily admit their shortcomings. They therefore also welcome foreign assistance to get the ports moving and properly train Mozambicans.

#### Thirty Days

Mr Will Morgan, a Briton, manages Maputo's container terminal as a result of a program being financed by the British Overseas Development Administration. He admitted that the port has quite a few problems. But, he says, the improvement is demonstrated by the fact that nowadays it takes only 30 days for a container to again be taken back to its country of origin. "This sounds terrible in comparison with Europe, where the average is seven days. But it is a great improvement compared with 18 months ago, when the average was 96 days," he says. - - (Sapa - AP)

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## BADENHORST SAYS MOST LOCAL BLACK COUNCILS STILL FUNCTIONING

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 30 Apr 86 p 17

[Article by Jacques van Wyk: "Black Town Councils Continue to Work"]

[Text] Alexandra on the Witwatersrand is now in the news over the violence occurring there. Reverend Sam Buti, the mayor, and Alexandra's three last council members have resigned. This installment, the fourth in the series about the unrest in black areas, is an interview which Jacques van Wyk held with Mr Piet Badenhorst, deputy minister of constitutional development and planning.

Although some local black management boards and community councils have resigned, mainly because of the riots and pressure from radicals, there is no question of the system having fallen apart nationwide, as some people claim, Mr Piet Badenhorst, deputy minister of constitutional planning and development, says. He said in an interview that 187 out of a total of 232 local black management boards and community councils are still completely in operation. Of the 190 community councils, 150 are still in operation. Altogether 40 have resigned. Concerning the resignation of Rev Sam Buti, mayor of Alexandra, and his city council, Mr Badenhorst said he took note of that with regret, as well as of the events in the residential area.

#### New Councils

"I am still convinced that orderly management of a residential area is the task of elected leaders, and I want to express the confidence that the residents of Alexandra will not only endorse this principle, but will actively participate to make it a reality. That is the only method for making a tranquil living place of their residential areas." Besides some of the management boards and councils which resigned being set up again, his office still receives applications from black towns for the establishment of new community councils. His observation is that Blacks greatly enjoy serving on the community, city and town councils and that they think that their Most Blacks want to continue with them. communities benefit from them. says he does not deny that there are serious problems. Circumstances in the Eastern Cape still arouse great concern. Of the 46 community councils in the Eastern Cape, there are about 18 that have not resigned, while two of the four local management boards have not resigned,

namely iBhayi at Port Elizabeth and Rini at Grahamstown. The two that resigned are kwaNobuhle at Uitenhage and Lingelihle at Cradock.

### Functioning

Things are in general going well in the Western Cape. He has just visited all the black residential neighborhoods in that area. He was also in Soweto and Deepmeadow. All the community councils here are functioning. The black city councils on the Rand are also in operation. The areas are not inaccessible, as some people claim. He traveled all over the region in ordinary vehicles. The Progressive Federal Party claims there are places where even the police cannot go in; so-called "no-go areas." He admits that when violent riots are going on, such as the country recently experienced, the delivery of certain goods will of course not take place. People will also not go into such areas unnecessarily and place their lives in danger. But that is only for the period of time that the riots last.

### Break Down

Serious problems are being experienced with the collection of rental and utilities money in some black residential neighborhoods. The revolutionary elements are intimidating and exerting severe pressure on people not to pay house rent. This is one of the most important methods that they use to try and break down the government's authority. They want to destroy the principal source of income of local management boards in this way, but are definitely not succeeding in that. The creation of organizations is a very important factor in the revolutionary onslaught. In practically every black residential area there is thus a self-appointed pressure group, so-called "civic associations," which control some neighborhoods to a greater or lesser extent. These pressure groups are to an increasing extent insisting on recognition, and do not want anything to be done without their permission in the residential areas involved.

The government is also talking with these groups. An example is Oudtshoorn. There are also talks with them at many other places. By entering into talks with them you show that you are also listening to them: that there is not a total barrier. There is contact. Mr Badenhorst stressed that where such talks take place, it is done in such a way that the authority of the recognized black bodies, local management boards, community councils and the Urban Councils Association of South Africa (Ucasa) is not undermined. radicals do not only undermine the government's authority. They want to take it over themselves. And it is surprising what all they are doing to promote their onslaught. We are dealing with a revolutionary onslaught. The town has to be taken over, totally taken over. But seen overall, they are definitely not succeeding in that."

The government is also getting numerous requests from Blacks asking for permission to organize themselves into vigilante groups to protect them from the radical elements. However, the state cannot allow such groups to take the law into their own hands. Where such groups have appeared, however, they have shown that a small group can control a residential neighborhood of tens of thousands of people and can maintain order to a certain extent. In one case

they even instituted their own curfew rule. The problem is, however, that such groups are apt to take things too far and apply unlawful measures, Mr Badenhorst said.

Mr D.J.F. Hitge, chief director of local management of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, pointed out the difference between community councils and local management boards. Community councils are actually a semi-local authority. It is not a local management board in the usual sense of the word. It has certain executive powers, but they are A local management board is in all respects equivalent to the local government for Whites; it is a full-fledged city council. An example is the city council of iBhayi at Port Elizabeth. That city council is in every respect equivalent to a white city council. It has its own staff just like any other city council. There is a difference in the respect that the local black management boards are still experiencing a shortage of trained and competent Blacks. "Now people are saying the local management boards have There are about 40 of them, city and town councils. But only three of those councils have resigned: kwaNobuhle at Uitenhage, Lingelihle at Cradock and Nonswakazi at De Aar."

#### Cut Off

"Moreover, the fact that those three councils have resigned does not at all mean that the administration in those three areas has come to a standstill. Services are being continued, for after such a council has resigned, its organization still exists; its city clerks and its staff. And they go on with their work. They actually lack a decisionmaker. In the case of Cradock, the white city clerk is the "administrator." Such "administrators" have also been appointed at De Aar and Uitenhage. There are 192 community councils, 28 of which have resigned in the Eastern Cape. And yet people still go with their complaints to the council members who have resigned. It is this not entirely true that everything has fallen apart. There are places that have problems. East London is one of them. There was also a problem at Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle, but progress has since been made with that. The area is not totally cut off.

## Calmer

He admits that a local management board cannot continue its normal services if conditions get unstable in some residential areas. But they go on again as soon as the situation gets calmer. For example, there may today be riots in the town, so that garbage cannot be removed. But a few days later the situation has quited down, and then they again go on with their work. One can thus not say without qualification that everything has fallen apart. He acknowledges that there are problems. The collection of the rental and utilities money is a problem. Although he does not believe that most Blacks think like the radicals, there are grievances, such as the backwardness in black residential neighborhoods, which the revolutionary elements exploit to their advantage. They depict the Blacks as oppressed people for whom nothing is being done, Mr Hitge said.

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#### BOTHA SAYS WHITE MAJORITY SUPPORT NEEDED FOR REFORMS

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 30 Apr 86 p 16

[Editorial: "Reform and Security"]

[Text] One hard truth is still overlooked by too many people in the excitement around reform in South Africa. This is that a leader can carry reforms through successfully only if he has a solid power base. If he ignores that power base, he is no longer a leader and all his efforts are futile. South African circumstances are such that, without the cooperation of the national government and others broadly supporting it, no essential reform can take place which at the same time offers hope for stability and a more peaceful future for the country. That is why it is so necessary that everyone, but above all those who so naggingly make extravagant reform demands, thoroughly note what the state president said yesterday in the Council of Representatives.

President P.W. Botha stressed that no success with reform can be achieved without the support of the majority of Whites and at the same time the support of the majority of white Afrikaners. "I cannot turn my back on people who are my own." Things must be treated so that the white Afrikaner feels secure. Those who try to interpret these words as just more proof of so-called white, and then especially Afrikaner selfishness, are badly mistaken. Least of all does a feeling of security among Whites exclude striving for greater justice for the other communities. The stronger that feeling of security, the greater the capability to offer equivalent security and opportunities to others. However, the greater the feeling of threat, the more probable that nothing will be conceded to others, with all the explosive implications that would accompany this.

Those Afrikaners and other Whites who so easily proclaim that President Botha no longer has their interests at heart should also really take note of his words, shake off their ungrounded fears and strengthen his hand for the numerous challenges which he and the government are still facing. Only in this way can a South Africa in which no group feels threatened by another be built and a climate of greater mutual goodwill be worked on together.

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OFFICIALS DISCUSS MAIN ELEMENTS OF UNREST

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 2 May 86 p 27

[Articles by Jacques van Wyck]:

Youths Seen as ANC's Frontline Troops

[Text] The Eastern Cape is one of the two areas in the country most seriously affected by the unrest in black residential areas. The other is the Witwatersrand in today's installment, the fifth in our series on the unrest, a number of MP's from the Eastern Cape tell Jacques van Wyk in interviews what is going on in their areas, what role children play, how people react to the unrest and what, according to them, can be done.

Youths, some still very young children, are carrying on a reign of terror in various black residential areas in the Eastern Cape. They are the frontline troops of the ANC, Mr Hendrik Coetzer, NP MP for East London North, says. Mr Coetzer, who regularly talks with Blacks in his constituency, says it is shocking to see how young boys, some no older than nine or ten years, give orders to strong adults. The latter do not offer any resistance, because they are afraid of the consequences: a gasoline bomb tossed at their home or a "necklace" for them or one of their family members. It is children who can point the finger at any Black or woman, and then it is Ichabod with that person. It is children who make demands of the government and the country, who asked for more and better schools and books, and then burn them down and destroy them as quickly as they receive them. There are boycotts under the coercion of children that are lifted so that they can catch their breath and make further demands before they again institute the boycotts.

The other Blacks have to just join in and put up with it. These children will ostensibly themselves decide when and where they want to go school so that they can receive Marxist indoctrination in the form of "alternative education" and be mobilized for further terrorism. A generation of black children are being brought up filled with hate -- hate of the state authority, the police, and the white man. They regard murder of innocent people as a joke. Some of them, after they have smashed up a car with rocks, will laughingly set the occupants on fire or stone them to death and regard that as "sport".

Fortunately there is a broad stream in the middle among Whites as well as Blacks who would rather live together than die together in South Africa.

"For all of us who want to keep a cool head, the challenge lies in our having to make it possible for people from both sides to stand together in steadfastness and humanity. We must raise love of our neighbors above daily violence and murder. The big question, however, is how we are going to manage that. How do we fight violence without using violence? Is it possible? Can it be done; and if not, how much violence should we use?" There is among the Whites a big stream who are willing and eager to continue with reform —people who want to talk, want to bargain, want to take the black man's hands and with him work out a fair and just future without any discrimination. There is an equally big stream of goodwill on the black side. But they are leaderless and afraid. Yet they pin their hopes on the government to protect them. "We have to bring these streams of reasonable Whites and Blacks together as soon as possible, for both are getting uneasy about the visible problems in the prevailing circumstances."

The fact is that one funeral leads to another funeral. More display of force by the ANC and greater defiance of the state's authority, cruel intimidation, murder and the burning down of houses, possessions and schools is the order of the day. This is not only seen. Blacks who are branded as moderates or "sell-outs" feel it bodily.

Many Blacks have the conception that the state cannot control the radical elements. They say they are in many cases prevented through intimidation from paying house rent. In some cases the radicals themselves collect the house rent for their own purposes. Many shopkeepers in black neighborhoods have to pay "protection money" to the radicals, they say. They think it is safer to join in and subject themselves to the terror and in this way keep on living. They are afraid to resist them, for they do not know whether the state will always be able to protect their possessions and life. They are more afraid of the "necklace" than any measure that the state can institute. the ANC seeks confrontation through defiance and by more and bigger demands of the That seeking of confrontation is not going to decrease; it is They know that they are strengthening their numbers daily going to increase. through intimidation and that their support abroad is henceforth going to get greater momentum with every funeral and every confrontation with the children.

This makes the reasonable Whites and Blacks in the Eastern Cape uneasy. Their enthusiasm for cooperation is starting to evaporate. They are starting to doubt whether the government still can or wants to exercise control everywhere in black areas. The Whites who have suffered partial or total damage as a result of boycotts are building up a radical resistance against Blacks as well as the government, which is directly and indirectly held responsible for what they see as a lack of action. It is difficult to continue with reform as long as there is no law and order and the real leaders from both sides are not becoming involved in it, Mr Coetzer says.

Le Roux Views Tension, Grievances

Youths play a big role in the unrest in the Eastern Cape. They are extremely antagonistic toward the White and his systems, Mr Dawie le Roux, NP MP for Uitanhage, says. When you have such an unstable factor, it is a very difficult task to normalize society. But the social conditions, especially in the poor black areas and in particular then the squatters camps, are the worst factor. There is much poverty, a lack of services, a great shortage of houses and large scale unemployment. Unemployment is undoubtedly one of the biggest causes of the riots.

There are thus enough shortcomings that the radicals can effectively exploit to stir people up. The level of threats is also very high. KwaNobuhle near Uitenhage has its own municipality, but the city council members were threatened and resigned. The only member who did not resign, Mr Benjamin Kinikini, and his son were murdered. The city council's task is now being carried out by a white "administrator." There is no specific group in the black neighborhoods of Uitenhage which can claim that it controls the area. Azapo's influence there is little. The two principal groups are Volkswagen's trade unions and the UDF. Volkswagen plays a very important role at Uitenhage, because it is the heart of the economy and does a lot for its workers. Its union leaders are in a very strong position in black areas.

Every black community and every black faction has its own leaders. One of them cannot talk on behalf of another group or faction. The fragmented nature of the black communities creates an opportunity for talks. Mr Le Roux said he talks with them, even with the radicals, with a view to attainable solutions to their problems. KwaNobuhle is not inaccessible. There is free movement of buses and commercial vehicles. The collection of rental money is going well in spite of intimidation. One of the reasons is that the largest employers at Uitenhage, the railways and Volkswagen, deduct rent and utilities money from workers' salaries or wages and pay it directly to the authorities.

In order to improve conditions in KwaNobuhle, the municipality has done away with all forms of red tape and so tries to be as accommodating as possible. Builders are also allowed to build on Saturdays now. This helps to bring relief to the housing shortage. The biggest problem is at Kabah/Langa, where about 40,000 squatters are living in precarious conditions. Moreover, the squatters town is located between a white and a colored residental area and thus holds the same dangers as the situation at Krugerdorp. What makes the situation difficult is that there is a strong lawless element. Radicals are also very active and will try to exploit the attempted transfer of people as far as possible.

An interdiction from the Eastern Cape division of the High Court has just been obtained according to which the squatters were to be transfered as of This is the first time that a local administration, in this case yesterday. the municipality of Uitenhage, is acting against the illegality of squatters through an order from the High Court. It is thus not a case of callous government action, Mr Le Roux said. The tension in the area will not Yet, much can be done to alleviate it. disappear quickly. It is important that the instruments of development should be acceptable to the Blacks. present development boards are not acceptable. The lawful grievances of Blacks should be dealt with. It is important that achievable goals are set. for the promises made to Blacks should be kept, Mr Le Roux said.

## MP's Urged To Talk With Blacks

Although the unrest in the Eastern Cape is a great source of concern, he is encouraged by members of the black community coming forth to conduct talks. The great majority yearn for peace and prosperity, Mr Sakkie Louw, MP for Newton Park, said. "We must therefore not allow a small percentage of reckless elements to place an obstacle in the path of a solution to the relationship problem in the country." Not all black leaders will come forth on their own to take part in talks. He thinks it is imperatively necessary that members of parliment and business leaders enter into talks with them. The state president cannot be expected to perform the task alone.

#### MP'S DISCUSS UNREST EFFECTS ON COLOREDS

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 3 May 86 p 9

[Article by Jacques van Wyk: "The Longer Unrest Lasts, the More Dangerous"]

[Text] The Coloreds are a middle group between the Whites and Blacks. How are they affected by the unrest in the Eastern Cape? In this installment, the sixth in our series on the unrest, the opinions of three members of the Council of Representatives are given on the occasion of interviews which Jacques van Wyk conducted with them.

The radicals have in certain respects gotten control over the black residential neighborhoods of East London and some other black residential areas in his constituency, and they are not going to give up that control easily, Mr Peter Mopp, Labor MP for Grens, says. Mr Mopp does not think the unrest will disappear easily and quickly. Although it has diminished in the Eastren Cape, it has not yet at all calmed down. The longer it lasts, the greater the danger becomes that it may get worse and later turn into something which is to nasty to think about and in which defenseless people especially would suffer the worst.

#### Commando

The country cannot afford for people to run around and stir up racial hatred in such a climate. At present the government is restricting only leftist radicals, while certain far rightists are freely allowed to promulgate racial hatred. Coloreds were attacked last year by Blacks at Queenstown, where a road separates the colored neighborhood from the black neighborhood. A Colored was killed by the so-called necklace method. In response to that, the Coloreds set up a commando in the town to protect the area. The riots were the worst in East London, where all the black schools were burned down. One of the colored schools there was presumably set on fire by Blacks and a small bunch of Coloreds, and the whole top floor burned down.

#### Moved In

The radical elements are not very strong among the Coloreds in East London, but they ruled in various respects in certain black residential areas such as Duncan Village. The colored area along the Douglas Smith Highway in East

London is near the black residential neighborhood. With the demolition of the black squatters camp, many blacks moved into the backyard of Coloreds in the colored neighborhood, because they were under the impression that this was becoming a black area as a result of an announcement by the government. The Coloreds in whose backyards the Blacks had squattered insisted that they pay rent. Those who did not want to pay were kicked out. Consequently, black "comrades" in some cases kicked the colored family out of the house, and the illegal Black and his family then took possession of the house with the permission of the "comrades." This led to discord.

### Dispute

"I know of a person who was set afire in that area over that." There was also a dispute between Azapo and the UDF in East London. First there was a bus boycott, followed by a store boycott. The first boycott of stores started on Some of the Blacks' enterprises were also burned down in Duncan Village, presumably because the owners did not want to pay a "levy" to the radicals. "Practically the only thing that they could not burn down in Duncan Village was the swimming pool, for there was water in it. They burned down the beer hall, the office of the Association for the Care of Cripples, the hall, two schools and a church. They exploded a bomb in the office of the head of the Esperanza School, a colored school. They stole and carried away the entire corrugated iron roof. The school was evacuated after that. Altogether 52 homes of policemen, officials and other people were burned down in Duncan Village. Several cars were burned out. At times everything was very calm and then the riots suddenly flamed up again.

#### Truth

Regarding the security forces. Mr Mopp said the people are more aware of a Defense Force presence than a police presence. At one black neighborhood during the day you will see a patrol wagon on one side and a patrol wagon on They take off in the evening. the other side. The radicals thus know well that if they want to do something there they must do it at night. People who live in the C Section of the black neighborhood live in the most critical There is also much unemployment. It is not circumstances imaginable. necessary for the radicals to purposefully whip up the people. They only have People are uneasy and nervous in the colored areas near to speak the truth. Buffalo Flats in East London. Their neighborhood borders on the black neighborhood of Duncan Village, about 200 meters from the part which was the central point of violence.

### Worst

Now the government wants to build another 170 houses for Blacks in the open part between the colored and the black neighborhoods. That is only going to raise the tension. The Coloreds spent thousands of rands to build their own homes. Now 170 low-cost homes for Blacks are being built right up against their neighborhood. With that, the black neighborhood, where the riots were the worst, is being brought up to them. The Coloreds are not happy about

that. The different population groups will have to work together to calm down the unrest. They will have to sit around a table together and plan something. The great majority of the Blacks are reasonable people.

#### Attack

Police behavior is praiseworthy in some cases. Here he is thinking of the way that Lt Charles Landman handled a matter. Mr Mopp says he was once summoned to a place where a young man was dead in the riots. When Lt Landman showed up there to investigate the matter, the people who huddled together there cheered him. Shortly afterwards, a Casspir showed up and then the people wanted only to attack the police. The right attitude is very important. Every policeman ought to take a thorough course in basic public relations. They should devote more time to that and spend less on the firing range, Mr Mopp said.

#### MORE SKILLED PEOPLE IMMIGRATE THAN EMIGRATE

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 2 May 86 p 13

[Article by political editorial staff: Week Bronomy, Unrest Notwithstanding -- More Trained People Emigrate to SA"]

[Text] According to the latest figures, the loss of highly trained people who move abroad is not at all as great as rumors would sometimes have it. South Africa still showed a gain in trained immigrants last year in spite of the weak economy and unrest in the country. According to information furnished by the Department of Internal Affairs, South Africa made a gain of 5,883 immigrants last year -- altogether 17,284 immigrants as opposed to 11,401 emigrants. That positive trend compares well with years such as 1977 and 1978, when the country experienced a minus growth of 795 and 1,513 respectively. Concerning reports of lines of South Africans waiting for British and other passports, it was pointed out to DIE BURGER that the overseas offices of the Department of Internal Affairs last year got altogether 92,755 written inquiries from prospective immigrants. Furthermore, 39,206 personal interviews in a family context were also conducted with prospective immigrants.

Comparative figures since 1961, when the government began its state-supported immigration project, show that economic slumps and boom periods have played a big role in immigration and emigration patterns. A spokesman for the Department said the immigration program is now being strongly influenced by the economy. It had to be scaled down to accommodate the economy. The riot conditions can hardly be the main reason why people leave the country, in view of the fact that the present decade's emigration figures are some of the lowest in the past quarter of a century, it was said.

According to the Department of Internal Affairs, South Africa made a gain in skilled persons in the first 11 months of 1985. Based on vocational groups, the figures for white immigrants and emigrants respectively looked like this:

- Professional 2,128 compared with 1,424;
- Managerial and administrative 682 compared with 413;
- Clerical 1,160 compared with 606;
- Sales people and related workers 514 compared with 296;
- Agriculture 90 compared with 40;
- Service workers 354 compared with 114;

- Factory work and construction 2,107 compared with 884; and
- Engaged in non-economic activities 9,298 compared with 5,876.

The only months in which there was a loss of people were July, August and December. In December, 863 people came into the country and 1,136 left it. According to the Central Statistics Services, 135 people in professional, technical and related services entered South Africa in December of last year and 195 left the country. The breakdown of immigrants and emigrants was respectively as follows:

- Engineers - 34 and 49; doctors and dentists - 8 and 8 - accountants - 14 and

14; educationists - 10 and 29; and others 66 and 95.

As for educationists, South Africa got 341 immigrants throughout 1984 as opposed to the loss of 146 emigrants. The number of educationists who came to South Africa last year was 178 compared with 116 who left the country.

According to the 1984 figures, most of the 8,545 emigrants chose to move to Europe and Britain. Altogether, 339 moved to African countries, 208 to Asia, 695 to the Americas, three to unspecified destinations, 1,574 to Oceania (Australia and New Zealand) and 5,726 to Europe, most of whom went to the United Kingdom, West Germany and Portugal (in that order).

A spokesman for the British embassy said it seemed in the past few months as if people who could not get British passports applied for Irish passports. According to him, the Irish government is evidently more pragmatic in granting passports. A British passport can be obtained on various grounds. The most common one is that the father of an applicant, who is older than 18 and whose grandfather is or was a born British citizen, is a British citizen and the minor applicant can get a British passport through him. Since 1983, anyone whose mother was born in Britain also qualifies for British citizenship.

A spokesman for the Australian embassy said that, according to information furnished in that country's parliament in November of last year, 1,679 South Africans moved to Australia in 1984/85.

### STORE BOYCOTTS IN PORT ELIZABETH CONSIDERED WELL ORGANIZED

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 3 May 86 p 9

[Article: "Store Boycott in PE Well Organized"]

[Text] The consumers boycott in Port Elizabeth against white, colored and Indian stores was well organized in the black neighborhoods with the help of street committees. It is clear that some white businesses are being hurt by that, Mr F. L. Erasmus, Labor MP for Gelvandale, says. the colored merchants are not affected so badly, because they mainly carry on commerce with people in their own areas. But Indians who have stores in the central business area are seriously affected. At the same time, more and more Blacks are finding out that the radicals cannot protect them against criminal elements. Many Blacks have asked them to see to it that the police do not leave their neighborhood, because only they can maintain law and order.

The radicals exercise a certain degree of control over many Blacks through That was apparent from the commemoration of the shooting at intimidation. The radicals told everyone to attend it and not to go to work. Many Blacks listened to them. Although there are also radicals among the Coloreds, they are not nearly so strong as the radicals in the black neighborhoods. The standard of living of the Coloreds in Port Elizabeth is much higher than that of the Blacks there. Coloreds are in fact big providers The black workers tell their employers of work to Blacks in Port Elizabeth. what is going on in the black neighborhoods. and consequently the Coloreds feel continually threatened as a minority group. Nevertheless, there have been no incidents in which Blacks have attacked Coloreds. One way to work against the unrest is to talk with Blacks. even the radicals. And there are some radicals who want to talk with the government. The difficulties with the radicals is that they make demands which cannot be satisfied in the short Another way to work against the unrest is to alleviate the tremendous unemployment in the area. In that context, the government has already pumped millions of rands into the area to help create job opportunities. He has directed pleas to the government to unemployment remains serious. accelerate building programs. for about 20 percent of the builders and about 80 percent of the journeymen in the building industry are unemployed. radicals are exploiting the situation and throwing everything back onto apartheid and the government, Mr Erasmus says.

## PRETORIA UNIVERSITY STUDENT COUNCIL URGED TO WITHDRAW ASF PERMIT

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 3 May 86 p 3

[Article: "Meeting Attracts 1,200 Students -- Tukkies (U. of Pretoria students) Say No to Rightist Organization"]

[Text] Pretoria—A motion that the student council of the University of Pretoria withdraw its permission for the rightist Afrikaner Student Front (ASF) to appear as a student association on campus was adopted yesterday by an overwhelming majority at an extraordinary mass meeting on the campus. About 1,200 students attended the meeting. That is by far the most students at a mass meeting in years. The outcome of the meeting, at which several of the ASF's motions were rejected, is regarded as a setback to claims from the farrightist camp that "most Tukkies are on the right."

The initiative for the meeting initially came from the ASF as a continued effort to stir up feelings on campus against the founding last weekend of the multiracial, moderate organization Jeugkrag [Youth Power] SA. For the first time in years, however, moderate Tukkies started to organize themselves -- an effort which succeeded to such an extent that the tables were turned after the ASF's claims that it represented the majority of the Tukkies.

The chairman of the ASF, Mr Gerdus Kruger, warned the students at the mass meeting that the outcome of the meeting would give a final answer on where the Tukkies stand. The students answered him by rejecting the two ASF motions. The first motion was, among other things, to arouse feelings against Jeugkrag and the university council's decision to let its founding meeting take place on the campus.

#### PERDEBY

They also asked that the registration of any association affiliated with a multiracial body be prohibited on campus. That motion was rejected by an overwhelming majority, as was a second motion that the editor of DIE PERDEBY ["The Hornet/or/Wasp"], Mr Frans Viljoen, be dismissed. Amid great applause, the meeting adopted a motion that the student council should reject the recognition of the ASF as a student association.

## POSSIBILITY OF NEW SECURITY FORCE DISCUSSED

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 3 May 86 p 8

[Article by Dawie: "Security: New Idea May Help in Controversy Around Police"]

[Text] Riot control and fighting terrorism are high on the list of things being discussed around political coffee tables. There is therefore considerable interest in new noises that are being heard on that subject. This is especially true of the idea that a new organization between the police and Defense Force should be set up, specifically with the aim of taking action against riots and terrorist attacks.

#### Other Countries

The Nationalists expressed support for this idea in parliament this week in discussing the law and order budget item of Minister Louis le Grange and Deputy Minister Adriaan Vlok. It is useful to look at practices in certain other countries in order to understand what is actually contemplated. In the first place it should be remembered that armed forces, especially the army, are the state's supreme protector against internal destruction. The practice of using the armed forces to maintain internal security is not alien to other countries — unlike what is asserted here in hostile opposition circles.

#### `Third Force'

For example, the British government, seated in the mother of parliaments and a cradle of democracy, sent soldiers into Northern Ireland to maintain order. In some other countries, however, a "third force" -- as it is called in specialized literature -- or more than one force between the police and armed forces has been set up to maintain internal security. The Compagnies Republicaines de Securite (CRS) were established in France to act in such a capacity. In America the National Guard fulfills a similar role, as will be remembered from the anti-Vietnam demonstrations and civil rights riots of the 1960's and 70's. An interesting aspect of the National Guard is that it meets the needs of a federal system by being under the control of the states.

#### Munich

The Netherlands and Italy have forces similar to the French one. while West Germany has a special task force against terrorism and takes action against riots with its Bundesgrenzschutz, a force between the armed forces and police. Such special forces were formed after terrorism assumed serious proportions, and security legislation, no matter how strict, did not enable the police to In the case of West Germany this occurred after operate suitably against it. the Palestinian terrorists' attack on Israelis at the Olympic Games in Munich and the loathsome activities of the Baader-Meinhof gang. The functions of forces such as these are strictly defined: mostly action against terrorists and civil insurrection, although they are sometimes also used in states of emergency (such as America's National Guard in natural disasters). case of South Africa, such a new force would not only make it possible for the police to be used better for their primary task of crime prevention. It could also become an important weapon of defense in the intense propaganda battle of which the security forces are one of the biggest targets.

### A Friend

That propaganda is aimed at depicting the police as cruel bullies manning the government's machinery of oppression. However exaggerated, that propaganda is incessantly used — and propagated by media that increasingly identify with leftist radicalism — to breakdown the law officer's image as a friend of the law-abiding citizen. The police do not deserve such an image, all the more so in view of the fact that the maintenance of law and order is of extreme importance in a transitional phase of reform. A new force with specialized training in combatting terrorism and controlling riots could possibly help to overcome the problem. Of course such a force cannot be the only answer to a many-sided problem. A more streamlined legal process to let justice take its course more quickly against security violators seems equally necessary.

### Propaganda

In addition, it is an open question whether spokesmen for the security forces themselves should no longer be used much in the propaganda battle. Experience abroad is that whenever even the common soldier or policeman in security situations has easy access to the media, it can help very much to sway public opinion against perpetrators of violence. The battle is indeed for the hearts of the masses. The South African security forces dare not lose it, for then a nasty future awaits.

## NATIONAL PARTY'S INFORMATION OFFICER ON CURRENT PARTY ISSUES

Johannesburg FINANCIAL MAIL in English 9 May 86 p 47

[Interview with Chris Rencken, MP for Benoni, National Party's Chief information officers; date and place not given]

[Text] FM: Rightwing opponents allege the NP does not have a mandate for the changes government is making.

Rencken: That's absolute nonsense. The 1983 referendum gave us a two-thirds majority to implement a new constitution to share power between whites, coloureds and Indians. What is true is that we don't have a mandate to share power with blacks. But we are not doing so. We are merely negotiating the sharing of power with blacks and we don't need a mandate to do so. We need a mandate to implement the results of the negotiations and the State President has indicated that when we reach that stage, we will have a referendum or general election to get the necessary mandate.

What are the prospects of a general election or a referendum in the near future?

It depends on when we are ready to implement a new constitution which will include blacks at the highest level of government; and that is something that does not depend on the NP alone, it depends on all other parties to the negotiation who at this stage are the retarding factor.

Do you believe the NP would accept the scrapping of the Group Areas Act?

I can only repeat what the State President said in this regard. Individual Acts are not holy cows. In fact, for the past few years this Act has been amended in some way or another every year. Therefore, I am not going to say we won't scrap Group Areas. But the NP stands for the right of every population group to maintain its own community life which includes its own residential areas and schools. The Group Areas Act per se could very well be scrapped or amended.

The NP's federal congress in Durban in August looks like being a crucial event.

There is a tendency of late to typify everything the NP does as a crucial event for SA. While this is flattering in one sense, it is far from flattering when it raises unrealistic expectations which do neither the country nor anyone else any good. It is obvious that negotiations towards a new constitution to include blacks at the highest level have not progressed much beyond the confidential and bilateral phase.

The legislation to bring about the National Council in which these negotiations will take on a more visible and multilateral form has not even been tabled in parliament, and is not likely to be passed until the second session, which will be after the federal congress.

It therefore stands to reason that the congress cannot produce guidelines for a new constitution as did the federal congress in Bloemfontein before the implementation of the current constitution. Many people don't realise that federal congresses are not only held for constitutional issues. It is necessary, particularly in times of dynamic reform, to communicate with the grassroots and to get sanction for things already announced and for the direction in which the party is going.

The NP has always debated and approved major policy decisions at its congresses. In recent years, the leadership seems to have moved away from this.

That is incorrect. If anything, the NP under P W Botha is more democratic than it has ever been. People tend to confuse principles and policy. Changes to the principles of the party have to be sanctioned by the provincial congresses and are co-ordinated by a federal congress. But the implementation of those principles, the day-to-day policy changes, have never been subject to congressional approval, but are left to the party leadership.

The NP appears to be under heavier siege from both the Left and Right than at any time since it won power in 1948. There are suggestions that it is crumbling internally the way the old United Party did.

That is completely wrong. I have never known the NP to be more dynamic within its ranks. There is great freedom of discussion and enthusiasm. It is a natural phenomenon in a period of dynamic reform for the NP to be attacked very rigorously by the Left and Right. By its very nature, reform brings about uncertainty in the electorate and the population at large, which is compounded by the fact that reforms have to be negotiated with various population groups and the negotiations can very often not be held publicly. In other words, the reform process and where we are going is not particularly visible, which gives the impression to some people that government does not know what it is doing or where it is going.

There have been many reports this year of a group of disillusioned verligtes in the NP caucus who are ready to break away.

I have seen no signs of anyone wanting to break away. Nor are there any signs of disillusionment with our leadership. There is a degree of frustration that we are not getting ahead in our reform plans as quickly as we would like to. But this is not attributed within the NP--as suggested in reports--to a

lack of dynamism within the party, but rather to the reluctance of reasonable South Africans of other political persuasions and population groups to come to the conference table.

To what extent is the reform initiative being retarded by resistance from conservative NP MPs?

The reform initiative is not being retarded by anyone in the NP. It is being retarded by people outside the NP who are reluctant to co-operate.

A number of NP MPs have expressed concern privately about the significant swing away from the party in many areas; far better turnouts have been recorded at rightwing meetings than those of the NP.

I do not believe those supporters are lost to us. The appearance of lost support is caused by the uncertainty I mentioned earlier. But once we succeed with our reform initiatives and can announce something definite, this temporary lack of enthusiasm will end.

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and its associates have clearly become a major force in white politics. How much of a threat are they to the NP?

I do not think they are a real threat to the NP. It is not a new manifestation in SA. We had it in the late Thirties and early Forties, with groups such as the Grey Shirts, the New Order and the Osswabrandwag. That was also a period of uncertainty preceding World War 2 and following an economic depression. We have just gone through a period of deep economic depression and a protracted drought, and in a certain sense we are in a state of war, although of a different kind. Therefore these upstart groupings have manifested themselves now for the same reason as in the early Forties, but they will die the same natural death as their predecessors.

/12828 CSO: 3400/1824

## AFRIKAANS WOMEN'S GROUP CONCERNED OVER VIOLENCE

MB270854 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0835 GMT 27 May 86

[Text] Johannesburg, May 27, SAPA--The Federale Vroueraad Volksbelang [Federal Women's Council on National Interest] today accused the African National Congress and the United Democratic Front of aiding the Soviet Union in its revolutionary aim.

The national organization for Afrikaans women, representing 30 organizations and more than 500,000 women, expressed concern at its recent annual general meeting about the escalation of violence in South Africa.

"Our organizations are concerned about the growing escalation of violence and polarization in our country and the suffering it was caused especially amongst the black population of our country," a statement by the Vroueraad said.

"It is evident that there are powers at work locally; the SA Communist Party, The ANC (African National Congress) and the UDF (United Democratic Front), who are aiding the Soviet Union in their aim of firing a revolution in our country."

The Vroueraad rejected "with contempt" the forces who were:

- --"Unpatriotically advising our young sons to take the cowardly path of non-conscription.
- --"Misleading Christians by having revolutionary theologians misuse the Bible to further the cause of revolution in false preaching and by underwriting the Karios document;
- --"Calling for boycotts and disinvestment, thereby causing irreparable deprivation to women and children."

The group promised to arm themselves with information regarding "the true nature of the Marxist programme led by the Soviet Union" and to launch a counter strategy.

They also said they would investigate lines of communication to work with other women to bring about peace.

"We hereby extend a hand of friendship."

They sought to share the following goals with other women:

- -- Sharing of a common fatherland they loved and wanted to protect for their children.
- -- A mutual dependency to develop human potential,
- -- Seeking, as mothers, especially for the youth, a new spirit of goodwill and understanding.
- -- They called on the authorities to regard 1987 as a "year of goodwill and understanding."

They also called on women to pray daily for the country and its people.

Their recent annual meeting was addressed by Professor H. Boshoff, director of future studies at the University of Potchefstroom.

The organization also decided to seek the cooperation of parents, teachers and schools in combatting the problem of teenage pregnancies.

/8918

## CHRONOLOGY OF AWB-NP CONFRONTATIONS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 27 May 86 p 11

[Article by Gary van Staden]

## [Text]

It has taken the Government exactly a month to break the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's "ban" on Cabinet Ministers speaking in the Transvaal.

When Mr Louis le Grange addressed a meeting in Ellisras last Saturday he became the first Minister to do so since the AWB vowed on April 24 that no Minister would get a word in edgeways in the province.

Right-wingers point out, however, that several factors eased Mr le

Grange's path.

- He is regarded as a conservative element in an otherwise "left-wing" Cabinet.
- AWB supporters had already had a hectic week breaking up Mr Pik Botha's meeting in Pietersburg and Mr Sarel Hayward's meeting in Warden.

#### MEMBERS

● The AWB was probably not very committed to preventing his meeting. Only about a dozen AWB members arrived.
● Mr le Grange was pro-

 Mr le Grange was protected by about 100 riot policemen led by head of the Reaction Unit, Major General Bert Wandrag. • There is more rightwing respect for Mr le Grange than any other Minister.

For about 18 months now, attention has centred on battles between the Government and black township residents. White politics were all but ignored until the AWB "reign of terror".

Recent events have included:

APRIL 24 — BRITS.
About 300 right-wingers disrupt and "hijack" a meeting scheduled to be addressed by Deputy Information Minister Louis Nel.

Mr Nel finally abandons attempts to talk, and right-wingers hold an anti-Government meeting.

APRIL 24 — VEREENIGING.

About 100 right-wingers in a crowd of several hundred heckle State President PW Botha throughout his City Hall address.

The following day the Afrikaner Weerstands-beweging (AWB) vow that no Cabinet Minister will speak in the Transvaal again.

## ENTRY

APRIL 26 —
NYLSTROOM.
Some 300 to 400 rightwingers gain entry to an
open-air meeting at the
local rugby stadium
which is scheduled to be
addressed by the Minister
of Justice Mr Kobie Coet
see.

Mr Coetsee seeks out AWB ringleaders and offers equal time to them if he is allowed to speak.

His request is turned down and Mr Coetsee is forced to retire to the rear of the stadium with some supporters. The AWB takes over the meeting.

At about the same time, the Minister of Foreign Affairs — Mr Pik Botha — throws down a challenge to the combined Right and indicates he is to address a public meeting in Northern Transvaal.

Two weeks later, the National Party announces that Mr Botha will speak in Pietersburg on May 22. However, when the posters advertising the meeting appear in the town they contain the words "right of admission reserved". This causes an outcry in rightwing circles and Mr Botha is accused of cowardice.

The AWB then announces it intends holding a meeting in Pietersburg on the same day.

MAY 14 —

PIETERSBURG.
About 800 right-wingers attend a meeting addressed by AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche where Mr Terre'Blanche tells his audience that he, not Mr Botha, will be speaking in the town on May 22.

In a gesture of solidarity with the Conservative Party, the AWB announces their Pietersburg meeting is to co-addressed by Mr Clive Derby-Lewis of the CP.

MAY 22 —
PIETERSBURG.
Thousands of people —
mostly supporters of the
AWB, the CP and the
Herstigte National Party
— gather outside the

Jack Botes Hall in the town hours before the meeting is to begin.

## DISARRAY

By 6pm and following some bloody fist-fights, Mr TerreBlanche is hoisted shoulder-high on to the stage with defeated National Party supporters in disarray.

The advertised time for the meeting to begin comes and goes with no sign of Mr Botha.

After some vocal opposition, National Party supporters finally concede defeat but just as the right-wingers prepare to carry on with their own meeting the police arrive and order everyone out the hall.

Following a five-second warning which most people did not even hear, teargas grenades are lobbed into the packed hall. The building is extensively damaged by panic-stricken people—right-wingers and National Party supporters—who break down locked doors and smash windows to escape.

Later a subdued Mr Botha holds a closed meeting at the local Na tional Party headquarters, from which the foreign media is banned, while Mr TerreBlanche and Mr Derby-Lewis address thousands at the local rugby stadium.

MAY 23 — WARDEN.

About 300 right-wingers in a crowd of 500 disrupt and then "hijack" a meeting in the town scheduled to be addressed by Agriculture Minister Mr Sarel Hayward.

MAY 24 — ELLISRAS.
Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, becomes the first Cabinet Minister to speak in the Transvaal in a month.
Five AWB members are arrested.

/12828 CSO: 3400/1837

### BRIEFS

UWK STUDENT ENROLLMENT DROPS -- An inquiry was made at the University of the Western Cape [UWK] after the number of students dropped by about 20 percent as compared with that of last year. This is what Professor Richard van der Ross, rector of the UWK, said in an interview yesterday. He said he is concerned that only 6,427 students were enrolled by the UWK this year. According to Professor Van der Ross, less than the 7,680 of last year. possible reasons for the decline are: - The disillusionment which followed last "Many young people, at school level and post-school year's class boycott. Some probably believed that [level], had great expectations of the boycott. That this did not happened the government would fall or something like that. led to great disillusionment and disappointment. Uncertainty about themselves and the leadership which they followed made them shiftless and led to the curtailment of their studies."

- The increasing number of colored students at traditional white universities. Students think perhaps that those institutions offer them greater security. "Some students have obviously also gone to institutions which are located closer to them."

- The fact that quite a few matriculants from last year did not take exams or did them too late. "The schools are our source of nourishment, and if something affects them detrimentally, it is reflected in our numbers. Our applications last year were almost half less than usual."

- Last year's disruption of the academic program at the UWK. "The first-year students are the most seriously affected. Many of them could not adapt to the high demands of self-study and dropped out. However, most of the final-year students were able to make it through with the help of alternative aid resources which we provided."

Money was also not so easily available to students who dropped out or failed, and many could not venture another year without financial support, Professor Van der Ross said. He thinks that the decline in the number of students is temporary and of a transitory nature. The UWK will grow again; perhaps not so quickly again as in the past, but the upswing will come, Professor Van der Ross said. [Text] [Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 29 Apr 86 pp 1,2] 13084

POTCHEFSTROOM UNIVERSITY INTEGRATING -- Potchefstroom University is going to open its doors to students from all population groups, it was announced in a statement yesterday morning. The decision was made Friday at the university's council meeting that colored students may also study at the university on an

undergraduate basis. The council stressed that screening will be strictly applied to all students in the future. That screening will relate to the applicant's academic merits, as well as the precise reasons why a student wants to become a Puk [Potchefstroom U. student]. [Text] [Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 29 Apr 86 p 2] 13084

PARABATS IN BOPHUTHATSWANA -- South African soldiers from 1 Parachute Battalion, Bloemfontein, jumped from two DC-3s (Dakotas) into the Thaba "Nchu area of Bophuthatswana. Also used in the operation were three SAAF Impala jet aircraft that performed several low-level fly pasts after the paradrop. The 40 paratroops grouped at the Thaba 'Nchu police station before patrolling the township on foot in a combined ground operation with the SA Police, described by a Defence Force spokesman as a "preventative action." He said "the action was planned, controlled and coordinated locally after certain information was received by the security forces." they later withdrew in Buffel troop carriers. There were no reports of arrests, finds of arms, or any civil disturbance. The incident is significant in two aspects: it took place inside bophuthatswana and, as far as is known, "Parabats" were deployed for the first time in an urban "unrest" situation. Forty-four Parachute Brigade, which includes 1 Parachute Battalion, is a crack assault force used primarily in the northern operational area in airmobile reaction units. The superbly disciplined and aggressive Parabats -- all volunteers -are ranked among the elite of the SADF and are second only to the "Recces." The incident points to the possibility of armed ANC/PAC cadres or other dissidents in the region. This could, in part, explain why frontline assault troops trained in bush warfare were deployed in an urban area, instead of using standard units. [Text] [Johannesburg FINANCIAL MAIL in English 9 May 86 p 411/12828

MALES TO REPORT TO COMMANDO HQ'S -- White male citizens aged between 18 and 54 in several cape magisterial districts and other areas were instructed, according to notices in yesterday's Government Gazette published in Pretoria, to supply their personal details to their nearest commando headquarters by June 20. Beaufort West, Carnarvon, Fraserburg, Laingsburg, Prince Albert, Richmond, Sutherland, Victoria West and Willison were listed in the notice for June 20. In other notices white male citizens in Aberdeen, Albert, Colesberg, Graaff-Reinet, Hanover, Hofmeyer, Jansenville, Middelburg (Cape), Molteno, Murraysburg, Noupoort, Pearston, Steynsburg, Steytlerville, Venterstad and Willowmore must report by June 6. White male citizens must report their personal particulars to their nearest commando headquarters by June 13 in Calitzdorp, Heidelberg (Cape), Joubertine, Ladismith, George, Mossel Bay, Oudtshoorn, Riversdale and Union. Those living in the Port Elizabeth magisterial district, excluding those within the municipal boundaries, and those within the magisterial district of Uitenhage, excluding the municipal boundaries of Uitenhage and Despatch, must report by June 7. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 May 86 p 8]/12828

ACTION NEEDED TO STIMULATE ECONOMY—The minister of finance, Mr Barend du Plesses, says the treasury is compelled to take further steps to stimulate the economy this year after a decline in the 3 percent growth rate anticipated in the budget a decline in the 3 percent growth rate anticipated in the budget this year. Speaking during the third reading debate on the appropriation bill in the House of Delegates, Mr du Peessis said now was the appropriate time to

review the economy. He cautioned, however, that it would not be easy to implement packages designed for the stimulus, in his analysis of the factors contributing to the decline, Mr du Plessis said it was alarming that for the 5th consecutive year there had been a decline in the rate of net fixed investment. According to our parliamentary news staff, Mr du Plessis conceded that the unrest contributed to the slowdown in the economy. He expressed optimism, however, that once the economy was on a firmer footing it would inspire investment. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 27 May 86 MB] /8918

CROSSROADS DESCRIBED AS 'WAR ZONE'

Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English 21 May 86 p 7

[Article by Marianne Thamm and Glynnis Underhill]

## [Text]

ONLY 20 km from Cape Town's city centre thousands of people from trouble spots in Crossroads are hiding out in refugee camps in an area that resembles a war zone.

The bleak landscape at the Red Cross Nyanga Bush refugee camp, one of several emergency posts, is scattered with small piles of belongings rescued from burning homes just 300 metres away.

Most refugees, many of whom have lived in Nyanga Bush since the start of the squatter settlement in 1975, have lost everything. According to a Quaker peace worker, Rommel Roberts, who lias worked in the area since 1974, the size of the Crossroads' population is more than 105 000. Part of Crossroads, the Nyanga Bush settlement, has now since been evacuated.

The Red Cross has offered all refugees the chance to be moved to shelters in Khayelitsha. Some have gone willingly, but most of these residents have refused to budge, preferring to wait for some solution to the senseless destruction

With all their possessions lost, parents and children are anxiously awaiting news of missing family and friends. Confusion reigns and these people, clearly caught in a vicious power struggle as rampaging vigilantes try to gain control of

the area, can only stand by and watch as their homes burn.

As one shack after the other burst into flames, a screaming mother with a baby on her back ran towards the shanty town, only to be chased back by stick-wielding vigilantes cordoning off the area. It was her home that had just gone up in thick black smoke.

Casspirs cerrying security forces patrolled the outskirts of Nyanga Bush. A fusillade of gunshots was heard, but pressmen who tried to enter the blazing area were also chased out by vigilantes, who claimed to be acting on orders from police. One armed man told a foreign correspondent. "Colonel Nel has told us you can't come in here."

Mrs Christina Dassle said she and her four small children had been forced to sleep in the bush on Monday light

fright.

They set fire to my home with some kind of fire spray. We came here five years ago and cleared the bush with our hands. No one has talked to us or told us what is going on. The police stand and watch the burning and do not try to ston it?

try to stop it."

"Look," she said pointing to the Casspirs on the out-skirts, "they are not doing anything to help us. We have no guns, no weapons — we are just living here peacefully."

Sister Kevin of St Mary's in Nyanga was visiting the refugee camp with one of the teachers.

"Yesterday panicking mothers came to the school to fetch their children. The school has been closed today and people are just walking around homeless.
"This is mass mur-

"This is mass murder. The people of Cape Town should stand together now and face this evil issue. These people have no rights. It is this and other frictions and tensions of urban living which have led to this."

A woman, who did not give her name for fear of retribution, stood by and watched outraged as more houses went up like roman candles at Guy

Fawkes. "Today I don't have a house. I walk and stand here with only the clothes on my back. From Sunday, white men with balaciavas and vigilantes have been burning houses. I am sure they want to kill us but I don't know why. They want us to kill each other."

## Injuries

Asked whom she thought was behind all the violence, she said she blained a specific white man who could speak Xhosa. When his name was mentioned, a huge group of jeering women crowded round to lend support to her statement. "We know him. He

speaks Xhosa and told us this morning at 5am that those who had fought with the vigilantes would stay and those who did not would have to go back to Kaffirland. (He) is burning the location.

There was only one tudent doctor on duty with the Red Cross until lunch-time. Later he was joined by a visiting German doctor and two other doctors. St Johns Ambulance and Sacia Clinic staff arrived with medical supplies and women with babies immediately began queueing for treatment.

for treatment.

According to a Red Cross workers, the most common injuries were from birdshot and gunshot wounds. Many babies had been treated for symptoms of teargassings and diar attoca. rhoea.

With hight and a cold front approaching, refugees could find nowhere safe to hide with their chilhide with their children. As one distraught mother said:
"They'll come and get us at hight. It is not even safe here."
Police have repeatedly denied taking sides in the current fighting and have out-

lined positive steps they are taking to stop it.

/12828 3400/1848 CSO:

## IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT BEHIND CROSSROADS VIOLENCE DESCRIBED

Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English 21 May 86 p 9

[Article by Tony Weaver]

[Text]

THE vicious fighting in the Crossroads/Nyanga Bush area is the culmination of a sustained ideological battle between conservative and militant leaders trying to gain control of the heavily-populated area.

Repeated allegations of police intervention on the side of conservative vigilantes in this and previous battles have been categorically denied by police.

At the helm of the cam-

At the helm of the campaign against activists has been the "Old Crossroads Committee", led by Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana and his chief lieutenant, Mr Sam Ndima, who have effectively banned all work by progressive organizations.

Before the latest outbreak of violence, more than 50 activists fled after the committee purged Old Crossroads of community, youth and women's groups. Those who are in hiding include two former members of Mr Ngxobongwana's committee, Mr Sam Langa and Mr A Nkpande.

The latest violence follows on a history of ongoing attacks by Mr Ngxobongwana's supporters on followers of Mr Melford Yamile and Mr Christopher Toise, the progressive leaders of the Nyanga Bush and Portland Cement Works camps.

At the root of the conflict are the vastly differing styles of leadership at the head of the two groups.

Mr Yamile and Mr Toise are popularly-elected leaders who exact minimum dues from their members and whose organization operates democratically.

On the other hand Mr Ngxobongwana is regularly accused of running Crossroads "as if he were a tribal chief" relying on an extensive system of patronage to secure his power base.

Both their houses are among the estimated 2 000-plus razed in the past three days. Late last month, a group of white men wearing balaclavas fired several shots into Mr Toise's house and also hurled a percussion grenade into his house during a prayer service.

during a prayer service.

The "witdoek" vigilantes have also launched attacks on the homes of activists living in New Crossroads and Nyanga East, and in the last attack, seven vigilantes were killed by defending militants.

Mr Ngxobongwana, who has a reputed income from tithes and rent collection on squatter sites estimated at over R40 000 in a good month and R5 000 in a bad month, has made repeated attempts to take over both the Nyanga Bush and the Portland Cement Works camp and incorporate them into his squatter empire.

/12828 CSO: 3400/1848

## U.S. RAISES RELIEF AID TO CROSSROADS

Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English 22 May 86 p 1

[Text] THE United States Government yesterday raised its aid for Crossroads victims to R70 000, giving a desperate-

ly-needed boost to the biggest relief operation in Western Cape history. Welfare organizations are battling

round the clock to give food, clothing, shelter and medical attention to the estimated 20 000 people made destitute by fighting in the area.

And, they say, Capetonians are responding well to the crisis.

Announcing an additional grant of

R50 000, US Ambassador Mr Herman Nickel said "the American people and government want to reach out with practical help".

Soup kitchens and crisis centres set up by welfare organizations are help-

ing at least 5 000 people, with 2 000 being fed and sheltered at the Zolani

Centre by St John Ambulance. Yesterday the Zolani Centre was a hive of activity with volunteers and nursing sisters dealing with incoming food supplies, attending to the sick and injured and feeding the children. The director of housing for the Western Cape Development Board, Mr

Graham Lawrence, said at least 1 000 people had been rehoused in tents at Khayelitsha. The SADF had donated 200 tents.

A spokeswoman for the Western Province Council of Churches ap-pealed for building materials such as wood, zinc and nails.

A Red Cross centre, with a clinic, has been operating since the erection of the tent camp on Monday.

Yesterday the Red Cross sister in charge, who declined to give her name, said bread, soup and clothing donated by organizations over the past three days had been used to feed and clothe the refugees, which include about 50 babies.

Another big donation reported yesterday was R10 000 from the Community Chest to the Child Welfare Society for use in a crisis centre at Nyanga's A M E Church for children separated from their parents in the fighting.

By late yesterday donations had been received from, among others, the City Council, the Urban Foundation, Jews for Justice, Pick 'n Pay, the Roman Catholic Church and Shawco.

The Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Leon

Markovitz, yesterday said the City was "deeply concerned" but added that the area did not fall under the council's jurisdiction.

A spokesman for the Divisional Council, which provides some services there for the WCDB, said it was exploring ways of distributing food.

• Mr Norman Osburn, Cape area commissioner of the Boy Scouts Association, last night appealed to all scouts and cubs attending meetings in the next few days to take with them to their meetings a blanket or item of warm clothing for Crossroads victims.

He added that Scout headquarters at 86 Bree Street, Cape Town, and the Athlone Scouts centre were being made available as public collection points.

/12828

PRIEST TELLS OF SQUALOR, VIOLENCE IN ALEXANDRA TOWNSHIP

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 27 May 86 p 11

[Article by Jackie Unwin]

[Text]

The frustration and anger of people living in squalid conditions and separated from their families, leading to violence in the townships, was described last night by the Rev Horace McBride, priest in charge of St Michael and All Angels' Church in Alexandra township.

"People living in an abnormal situation behave abnormally," he said.

He was speaking at the Lions LINK Supper Club, which was formed to promote communication, understanding and friendship among all people.

But he had a message of love, which he said came deep from the heart of Alexandra. It was: "Teil our white brothers and sisters we do not want to rob or take away what you have don't ever fear that.

"All we want to do is share with you. We, as fellow South Africans, want to have equal opportunity, send our children to school and live where we can afford to, take a job we are qualified to do, which doesn't depend on the colour of our skins but the merits of our minds and abilities."

He showed slides of the conditions in which the Alexandra people lived — overcrowded with no waterborne sewage, or storm water drainage.

He spoke of "the buildings of evil"—the hostels housing thousands of lonely and frustrated men and women who are prohibited from living with their husbands and wives.

### **FRUSTRATION**

"If I had lived in the hostel for a year, could not be with my wife and children, all my urges and needs would come to the surface. If the frustration and anger /12828

CSO: 3400/1848

builds up I might have a fight with a member of another tribe. Is that a faction fight or a frustration fight?" he asked.

He said there was resentment from the people in the township towards the people in the hostels because prostitution was rife.

The women, because of their needs, slept with the Alexandra men. It resulted in tremendous animosity.

In an area as big as the hall housing the supper club there would be between eight and 10 families living together with one tap and about four dirt bins,

"When the dirt bins fill up they are tipped into the stream in the townhip which is now filled with derelict cars, filth and often corpses.

He felt the circumstances, conditions and facilities caused schoolchildren to rebel in the way they do.

Mr McBride said: "I abhor violence, am totally against it, but I can understand what is happening."

"I believe that the future of our country rests squarely on the shoulders of the powers that are. Give us a fair deal and we are prepared to meet you not half way, all of the way."

But passing of influx control was viewed with "a feeling of great suspicion and wariness".

"Can I really trust and believe that this is going to happen and there are no strings attached?" he asked.

But he said: "In Alexandra we have white people who come into the township on a regular basis to share their love, time and fellowship with one another.

FELLOWSHIP

"White and black can function in Alexandra in a very loving and meaningful way. There is a blending in as people and not as a different race - this is the kind of fellowship we experience weekly, daily." Dr Hymie Beinart, convener of the supper club, said the Lions would immediately pursue ways in which it could help the Alexandra community.

## REPORTAGE ON REACTION TO NATIONAL COUNCIL BILL

NPP, Solidarity Party Welcome Proposal

MB231044 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 23 May 86

[Text] The minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, says the proposed national council is to be an interim advisory body on general affairs. Mr Heunis was clarifying certain aspects of the proposed council in Cape Town. He said the functions of the council would be advisory on matters in the national interest affecting all communities. Proposals by the national council would have to be acceptable to the country's executive authority before they could be submitted to parliament for approval.

In reply to a question as to whether or not a referendum would be held before the National Council Bill was tabled in parliament, the minister said it would not be necessary as the constitution remained unchanged.

The minister of local government, housing, and agriculture in the House of Delegates, Mr Baldeo Dookie, says the council's establishment will be a step in the right direction. He said those who did not want to participate would have only themselves to blame at a later stage.

The two major parties in the House of Delegates—the majority National People's Party and the opposition Solidarity Party—have welcomed the proposed National Council Bill. The leader of the NPP, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, described the measure as the greatest happening in the pursuit of peaceful political reform. The leader of Solidarity, Dr J.N. Reddy, said the occasion was historic because, for the first time, blacks would have a say in the laws promulgated by parliament.

The Conservative Party has condemned the bill as the penultimate step to black domination and white capitulation. The party's spokesman on constitutional development and planning, Mr Jan Joorn, said the bill was treason against the whites in South Africa.

The chief minister of Kwazulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says the definition of the main objective of the proposed bill is what the world has been waiting to hear. He advised black South Africans to think very carefully about it. He said the primary objective of the bill was a radical departure from previous NP policy, as it offered everyone participation in the prepar-

ation of a constitutional dispensation which provided for the participation of all South African citizens in the process of government.

Chief Buthelezi said, however, that if the council were launched in circumstances which did not make provision for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, it might be severely handicapped.

## Commentary Hails Council Move

MB260740 Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 26 May 86

[Station commentary: "Power Sharing"]

[Text] South Africa is being placed firmly on the road to powersharing and full equal participation by all its peoples, black, brown, and white, in a government of national unity. This became clear towards the end of last week with the publication of legislation for the establishment before the end of the year of a national council. It will give black South Africans a direct say in the government of the country, and black leaders will take part in planning and preparing a new constitutional dispensation for South Africa.

Until the new South African constitution takes effect, the national council will have wide powers. It will be able to consider all matters it deems of national interest. These include existing laws or proposed legislation and all steps being taken or proposed by the governing executive. The national council will be able to make proposals to the central government on any matter it considers necessary.

The aims of the national council will be to give black, brown, and white leaders the opportunity to take part in the planning and preparation of a new constitution to provide for the participation of all South Africans of all races in the government of the country.

Until the new constitution comes into effect, black South Africans will be given a full say in government processes which affect their interests. The new all-race council will also promote healthy relations between all South Africans as well as human dignity, rights, and freedom.

Black South Africans are assured of at least 16 members in the 30-member council. Whites will have a minimum of 2 members, and the colored and Asian population groups 1 each. The government has also stated clearly that there is no longer any question on the end of power sharing among all South Africans. The only remaining issue is how. The national council is destined to provide that answer.

/8918

cso: 3400/1842

#### LABOR PARTY REJECTS SEPARATE MUNICIPALITIES

MB261056 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1044 GMT 26 May 86

[Text] Mr David Curry, minister of local government, housing and agriculture in the House of Representatives, says the Labour Party rejects separate municipalities and wants direct representation on town and city councils.

Mr Curry said at the Congress of the Federation of Property Owners and Tenant Associations of the Western Cape in Parow at the weekend that the management committee system had not come up to expectations because the committees still acted largely in an advisory capacity to white councils, which held the purse-strings.

"Management committees have to negotiate with councils which our people did not elect and final decisions are being taken by white councils who are not responsible to our people."

The South African reality were sharp differences of opinion within the race groups, which created further turmoil. [Sentence as received]

"In Crossroads, for instance, the fathers are fighting against the youths,

"I also found in the communittees on which I serve that whites often clash in their political opinions.

"To sum up, the South African reality is that if we were to create a national council representing everyone, a Chief Buthelezi would never sit down next to a Bishop Tutu, and could you imagine Nelson Mandela and Eugene Terreblanche together at the same table?"

Mr Curry said he believed it was therefore up to the "centre politicians" to negotiate peaceful change.

"In South Africa its a matter of bread-and-butter politics. My people cannot wait until a non-racial South Africa has been created to start building houses and I can't wait until Mandela is freed--our people need their houses now."

/8918

RSC'S REGARDED AS LINCHPIN OF GOVERNMENT REFORM, FLAWS NOTED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 27 May 86 p 10

[Article by Mark Swilling, lecturer in political studies at the University of Witwatersrand]

[Text]

If the black majority is not given the right to vote and access to resources to improve living conditions, no reforms will ever be accepted.

This is the problem that the Government's advanced reformers are now facing. They believe that if these problems can be resolved, South African capitalism and key white privileges can be salvaged.

The proposed Regional Services Councils (RSCs) will be the first major institutional reform since the tricameral system was introduced. They will include all races in a single political unit and they are supposed to facilitate substantial redistribution of resources from white to black areas.

As a new form of local government, the RSCs are seen as the model for new regional and central forms of representation that will be designed after the RSCs have been established.

This "bottom-up" approach depends on the viability and legitimacy of the RSCs. This is why the RSCs are the linchpin of the reform process.

The RSCs, however, are fundamentally flawed. The root of the problem is that major black political organisations reject the notion that South African society can be deracialised from the top by a government that has defended white minority rule for 38 years.

This belief is supported by an analysis of the political and fiscal dimensions of the RSCs.

The creation of new forms of multiracial representation and administration — of which RSCs form a crucial part — is proceeding under the rubric of "extending democracy".

This term is used by Government ideologues when referring to the attempt to move beyond apartheld by incorporating blacks into all levels of "decision-making".

The Government has been forced to abandon the fundamental tenets of traditional apartheid because of massive internal and external pressures that have steadily built up over the last 10 years.

It is now officially accepted that Bantustans are unviable, that influx control has to be abandoned and that a new constitutional framework needs to be devised which incorporates all races.

New forms of local and regional government are being developed to manage new patterns of urbanisation that traditional apartheid previously tried to prevent.

Apartheid was built on the assumption that urban blacks were merely temporary sojourners in white South Africa. This meant there was no need to direct substantial resources into the black townships that steadily expanded on the peripheries of the white cities.

Today there is a backlog of over half a million houses, and most townships lack basic services. One dimension of "orderly urbanisation", therefore, involves new ways of finding resources to remedy this situation.

The White Paper on urbanisation makes it clear this will be the responsibility of the RSCs.

The key question, therefore, is whether the RSCs will "extend democracy" and simultaneously raise sufficient resources to finance substantial urban development.

An RSC is an umbrella body that rests on the existing autonomous local authorities that represent each racial group. Each local authority which falls within an RSC area will have representatives on the council.

Each local authority will be allowed to nominate one representative to the RSC for every 10 percent or part thereof of the RSC-provided services it consumes.

Although the local authorities will continue to manage "soft services" (parks, etc.), the RSC will administer "hard services" (transport, housing, water, etc.).

It is important to note that the RSC will not be elected. Instead its ordinary members will be nominated by the local authorities and the Provincial Administrator will appoint the chairman.

For an RSC to work, fully-fledged municipal bodies have to be in existence. At the moment coloureds, Indians and most blacks do not have autonomous municipal bodies to represent them.

In order to convert the coloured and Indian management committees into autonomous municipal authorities, the Government will have to overcome massive opposition from within and outside these bodies to the idea of municipal autonomy.

What moderate and radical political organisations in the coloured and Indian areas have in common is the belief that single non-racial municipalities need to be created rather than separate ethnic organs for each racial group.

As far as black local government

is concerned, the Government has admitted this is in shambles.

In the Eastern Cape, for example, nearly 70 percent of the 50 black councils are non-functional because they have been totally rejected by the communities.

The recently tabled Black Local Authorities Amendment Bill is designed to femedy this situation by transforming the community councils into town committees with a modicum of municipal autonomy. There is no evidence to suggest that this will give them greater legitimacy.

In short, except for the white areas, there are no municipal foundations upon which the RSCs can be built, and it is unlikely these foundations will be created in the near future.

Furthermore, the mass-based black political organisations that currently dominate township politics have already rejected the RSCs on the grounds that they will entrench ethnic local authorities that are unacceptable to the black majority.

This does not mean that so-called "moderates" will not collaborate with the State to implement the RSCs. Indeed, these elements will soon realise that RSCs offer a unique chance to distribute resources without having to raise rent and service charges.

However, given the level of politicisation in most townships, it is unlikely these people will be able to "buy support".

The fiscal system of the RSCs is also unlikely to work. The councils will be funded by a tax on salaries and wages (regional services levy) and a tax on total turnover (regional establishment levy).

Although these taxes are not allowed to be deducted from wages or passed on to prices, this is what will happen in the long run.

One of the financial brains behind these taxes, Gerhard Croeser, Deputy Director-General of Public Finance, admitted this was the intention when he said: "Because blacks did not understand their local authorities, they did not want to pay the rent increases. Now they will be paying as consumers, that is indirectly. This will depoliticise the system until such time that the blacks learn how to use the local authority system."

Unfortunately, although the RSC taxes will have a detrimental effect on black living standards at a time when only a minority are living above the household subsistence level, reliable sources have already estimated that the RSCs will not be able to raise sufficient finances to fund the kind of urban development needed to improve township living conditions.

For example, the Eastern Cape RSC will raise only about R40 million. This is less than what it will cost to supply absolutely basic services to the 26 000 squatter families who live in the PE-Uitenhage area.

A non-government planning group, Planact, recently estimated that it will cost R25 million to upgrade Langa which has over 6 000 squatter families living in it. (This excludes the provision of houses.)

In short, the political and fiscal foundations of the RSCs will thwart the attempt to make them the linchpin of the reform process.

As far as the black majority is concerned, the RSCs will be seen as yet another apartheid body imposed from above.

Nor is it likely that the RSCs will substantially redistribute resources to finance urban development in the black townships.

It is important to note that RSCs are only the first step in a strategy aimed at reorganising all three tiers of government.

A recent pamphlet put out by the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning pointed out that RSCs "are only the primary building blocks of a stable South African democracy.... The success of this initiative may well speed up reform at higher levels of government and in other spheres of life".

The next step will be to reconstitute regional government. It has already been announced that Provincial Councils and Development Boards are to be

scrapped and replaced with appointed centrally controlled regional committees of some kind.

These committees will be multiracial organs with sufficient executive powers to manage the transition to new regional representative bodies that may look similar to the federal structures being hammered out at the kwaZulu-Natal indaba.

It is more than likely that the nine "development regions" will become the administrative units of the new second tier.

It is clear that the State's game plan is aimed at constituting the third and second tiers before tackling the more politically sensitive first tier.

Although the National Council is likely to deliberate on this matter, the outcome will fall far short of the demand for a unitary majoritarian state favoured by organisations such as the UDF and ANC.

Nevertheless, Government ideologues insist that the constitutional reforms will "extend democracy".

However, one glance at the non-elected RSCs and appointed, centrally controlled second tier reveals how far we really are from the conventional meaning of democracy.

Rather than leading us towards democracy, the State seems to be creating at worst a new form of decentralised apartheid or at best an authoritarian brand of federalism.

Those involved in engineering this complex constitutional process are ignoring one simple basic political fact: the black majority is not demanding solutions, it is demanding to be involved in the formulation of solutions.

In the Eastern Cape, for example, the UDF has rejected RSCs and demanded a non-racial municipality for each town and city. This demand is supported in principle by key white interest groups and to some extent by business people who have been forced to accept that top-down solutions will fail.

One final point to note is that by making the RSCs the linchpin of reform, the State is raising the stakes in the on-going battle for power.

Never before has the State had to contend with such strong national political and trade union organisations.

If the State wants to ram the RSCs down the throats of the black majority, it can do so only by smashing the black political organisations.

Although reform will, therefore, require large doses of repression to succeed, this will further delegitimise the State — bringing us closer to the day when apartheid will have to be entirely dismantled and genuine negotiation with organisations such as the ANC entered into.

In the final analysis, it is unlikely that a government which has lost control of events will be able to implement reforms aimed at perpetuating the subordination of the majority to the interests of a minority.

/12828 CSO: 3400/1851 TIMING, OBJECTIVES OF RAIDS SEEN AS PUZZLING

Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English 20 May 86 p 9

## [Text]

WERE the SADF raids into Zimbabwe, Zambia and Lusaka a purely military operation — or also a psychological action linked to broader political objectives? This was one question puzzling local observers yesterday as claims, counter-claims and accusations flew back and forth.

All agreed that there must have been compelling, if unseen, reasons for launching such obviously controversial operations at an exceedingly sensitive moment, with the Commonwealth EPG actually in South Africa and only a few hours out of Lusaka, one of the target areas.

One possibility is that the raids were aimed strictly at pre-empting some ANC move inside South Africa. Another is that they combined pre-emption with a desire to harm the ANC's fighting image for domestic political purposes. A third is that they are linked with

some impending domestic political move for which a smokescreen is needed.

There are several puzzling aspects on which none of the official statements issued so far have thrown any light:

• Why have so few casualties been reported so far, even by government-controlled media which could have made excellent use of the opportunity to inflate the numbers of dead and wounded?

• How were the attacks on the Harare and Lusaka areas carried out?

Gaborone and environs constitute an easy target for vehicular or heliborne attacks because the Batswana capital is so close to the South African border.

As the crow flies, however, Lusaka is more than 450km from South Africanor South Africanor South African-controlled soil, and Harare more than 400km. The only border closer to Harare is Mozambique's Manicaland Province, about 200km away.

If, as is possible, the attackers infiltrated by means of a precision HALO (high altitude, low opening) parachute drop, there is no clarity as to how they were brought out again. No helicopter in South African service can fly a round trip of 800km or 900km without refuelling at least twice.

The SADF's deepest known parachute attack is the 1978 drop on Cassinga, 250km inside Angola, and in order to evacuate the paratroopers by helicopter a refuelling point had to be established outside the town — a hazardous procedure at the best of times.

A fixed-wing aircraft like a C-160 Hercules or C-130 Transall would have no difficulty in making such a trip, but then the attackers would have to secure a landing-ground such as an airstrip, flat terrain or a straight stretch of reason-

ably well-surfaced road.

It is also a fact that there might be a danger of aircraft being picked up by Mozambican or Zimbabwean radar networks.

One possibility mentioned yesterday was that the South African Air Force strikes on targets in the Lusaka and Harare areas were actually deception measures designed to distract the attention of the radar networks from troopcarrying aircraft.

/12828 CSO: 3400/1851 ANALYST SAYS ANC OFFERS 'LITTLE' MILITARY THREAT

MB260749 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 25 May 86 p 13

[By military analyst John Keegan]

[Text] The raids by South African forces against ANC centres in the capitals of Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana imply that Pretoria now thinks the ANC has a more formidable military force than ever before.

But the exact dimensions of that force remain undefined.

Pretoria has described the aim of the three raids as designed to demonstrate to the ANC that South Africa knows exactly where its military regional councils are.

The ANC leadership is headed by four men, Oliver Tambo, Alfred Nzo, Thomas Nkobi and Joe Modesi.

Modesi has been identified as head of the military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, or "Spear of the Nation."

Estimates of the strength of Spear of the Nation vary widely. There is general agreement that the number inside South Africa does not exceed 2,000 and may be no more than 1,000. A South African estimate in 1984 was 100.

A Central Intelligence Agency estimate of late 1985 put the figure for those in Angola and Tanzania as high as 8,000-10,000, with another 500 non-military personnel in Zambia.

Figures from an official South African source estimate that there are only 150 in Botswana, 100 in Zimbabwe, 300 in Zambia, 200 in Lesotho and 600 in Mozambique and Swaziland combined.

Lesotho is wholly surrounded by South African territory and was the scene of internal coup last year designed to limit ANC activity.

The structure of Spear of the Nation remains unknown.

Units based outside South Africa operate from camps located fairly close to the border zones, where active members rest after raids, new recruits are trained and the administration organises supply and movement.

The ANC enjoys considerable foreign assistance in training. Tanzania, where the ANC headquarters is, has lent help, as have the Bulgarians and North Koreans.

By South African accounts there is also a regular movement of trainees between Southern Africa, the Soviet Union and East Germany, with some ANC members going to Libya.

Zambia may also be a transit area for trainees. Mozambique too, may offer passage, and possibly training and base facilities.

By an agreement in March 1984 between South Africa and Mozambique, all camps in Mozambique were supposed to have been shut down.

But evidence collected after a landmining in Northern Transvaal in December 1985 showed that the perpetrators, who were eventually tracked down to Zimbabwe, had come from Mozambique.

The largest training centre is in Angola, with six camps in the government controlled area. One, Novo Catenque, was badly damaged during the South African incursion in April 1979.

The armed bands operating into South Africa from across the borders are rarely more than a dozen strong. Weapons, almost all of Soviet bloc origin, are no heavier than infantry platoon type.

In two township incidents recently, the security forces identified Soviet Kalashnikov assault rifles in the hands of what were called ANC members.

Other favoured weapons are handgrenades and landmines, but these often have to be stored in caches for long periods and become unstable.

Units penetrating South Africa from the border states try to evade action on the march and concentrate on carrying out selective landmining or shooting attacks.

But the hostile terrain along the borders--desert in the north, mountain and dense forest in the west, much of it inhabited by big game--greatly adds to the hazard of penetration.

These natural difficulties and the efficiency of the South African security forces have so far ensured that the very limited military capability of Spear of the Nation offers the Republic little objective threat.

/8918

### PSYCO-SOCIAL STRESSES OF APARTHEID LEAD TO HIGH SUICIDE

Cape Town THE ARGUS in English 19 May 86 p 5

[Text]

JOHANNESBURG. — Psycho-social stresses of apartheid may be why South Africa has a high incidence of suicide and family murders, delegates to a conference in Johannesburg on apartheid and mental health have been told.

Mr Lloyd Vogelman, chairman of the Organisation for Appropriate Social Services in South Africa, which convened the conference, said apartheid may be a another factor which can assist in explaining why whites have the highest rate of coronary disease in the world.

"For the dominant (white) group political power has produced a sense of omnipotence, arrogance and superiority.

"The growing threat of revolution and the possibility of losing privilege will probably lead whites to suffer injury to their narcissistic illusion," Mr Vogelman said.

He said factors leading to stress were the four-million without jobs in South Africa — it is estimated that 2 000 jobs a day must be created if the country is to rid itself of unemployment — and the likelihood that blacks who have work earn a monthly wage of only R300 or less.

### Wretchedness

"Added to this are apartheid, society repression, racism, resettlement and super-exploitation," he said.

"The negative impact of oppression and exploitation had led to a feeling among blacks of wretchedness on earth' — depression, passivity and powerlessness."

The present climate of militant strength and the proclamation of people's power in township life will change this.

"Nevertheless, there is still a daily degradation that many blacks suffer which must cause stress, frustration, a sense of inferiority and anger — all of which are anathema to psychological wellbeing."

/12828 CSO: 3400/1851

# MEDIA COUNCIL CRITICIZES RESTRICTIONS ON REPORTING

MB271105 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0954 GMT 27 May 86

[Text] Cape Town, May 27, SAPA--The South African Media Council expresses the hope in a statement issued today that the Public Safety Amendment Bill will be amended to limit regulatory powers sought under the bill.

"In the light of past experience and on the information available, we feel constrained to sound a warning note now, while the new measure is still under consideration, and to voice the hope that the government will not feel moved to re-impose previous limitations on reporting about unrest situations," it said.

The statement, authorised by the executive committee and issued by former appeal court Judge Mr Louis de van Winsen as chairman of the Media Council and of the council's committee on the free flow of information, reads:

Text: "The bill, in its present form, provides for wide powers, not subject to the jurisdiction of the courts, which could lead to curtailment of media access to information on matters of public importance.

"Withdrawal of the emergency proclamations on March 7 was accompanied by government statements that they would be replaced by other measures.

"At the time of the withdrawal the Media Council was considering complaints by English and Afrikaans editors about widespread police harassment of journalists, making gathering and publishing news about events of major public importance difficult and often impossible.

"There was also concern about apparent lack of clarity and control in issuing and applying regulations authorised by the emergency proclamations, including powers for police officers on the spot to give out verbal directions.

In addition, some news editors alleged that policemen resorted to powers conferred under the emergency regulations in areas not subject to the emergency proclamations.

"With the withdrawal of the emergency proclamations, the Media Council decided to withhold comment until the proposed amendment to the Public Safety Act became available.

"The Media Council now notes that provisions in the Public Safety Amendment Bill could place the media in similar circumstances to those which prevailed under the former measures.

"While members of the council concede that special measures may be necessary to deal with unrest situations, we feel the government would be unwise to use powers sought under the bill to re-impose additional restrictions on media reporting about unrest.

"The bill now being considered envisages the possibility of declaring unrest areas without having to declare a state of emergency in any district or separate districts. Regulations could be made by the minister of law and order comparable to those issued after proclamation of a state of emergency.

"Under the bill such regulations could be extended beyond the declared unrest areas should this be deemed necessary.

"The Media Council regards it as highly desirable to avoid uncertainty among those affected that the bill be amended to require the minister clearly to define such additional areas.

"We wish to place on record our understanding of the difficulties experienced by the SAP and other law enforcement agencies in coping with unrest.

"We have also been made increasingly aware of the problems and hazards facing journalists whose duty is to inform the public as quickly and accurately as possible of events affecting the life of the nation.

"In these circumstances heated confrontations can and do develop. The many examples of good cooperation between press and police even in these turbulent times are a tribute to both.

"We believe the interest of all—the public, whose right to know is affected, the police and the media—are jeopardised by restrictive regulations which trouble these relationships and tend to undermine public confidence in the accountability and responsibility of law enforcement agencies.

"In the light of past experience and on the information available, we feel constrained to sound a warning note now, while the new measure is still under consideration, and to voice the hope that the government will not feel moved to re-impose previous limitations on reporting about unrest situations."

[End text]

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### BRIEFS

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PROPERTY SALES TO INDIANS DISCOURAGED—The deputy minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Badenhorst, has sounded a warning that the possible sale of property in white residential areas to coloreds and Indians could spell trouble. Mr Badenhorst was reacting in Cape Town to advertisements and reports in newspapers to this effect. He said although the Group Areas Act was being discussed by the President's Council, it did not necessarily mean that it would be scrapped. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0915 GMT 30 May 86 MB] /8918

NEW MAWU PRESIDENT--Johannesburg, May 22, SAPA--Mr Moses Mayekiso has been elected as the new general secretary of the Metal and Allied Workers Union [MAWU]--one of the biggest affiliates to the 600,000 strong congress of South African Trade Unions. This was announced in a statement issued by the union tonight. Until now Mr Mayekiso has been secretary of the Transvaal branch of MAWU. He joined the union in 1978 as a worker at the Toyota plant in Wynberg near Johannesburg and was dismissed after a strike in 1979. He began organising for the union and was largely responsible for the explosive growth of MAWU in Germiston in 1980 and 1981. Mr Mayekiso is a resident of Alexandra township near Johannesburg and is active in civic matters as chairman of the Alexandra Action Committee. [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 2025 GMT 22 May 86 MB] /8918

NEW SECURITY BILLS OPPOSED—Opposition to two new security bills providing for detention without trial is growing. The latest opposition comes from three church leaders who have called for, in their words, the strongest protest from all Christians against the two bills. Carmel Rickard has details. [Richard] The Public Safety Amendment Bill and the Internal Security Amendment have been slammed by Archbishop Dennis Hurely, Anglican Bishop Michael Nuttall, and the Reverend John (Borlock) of the Methodist Church. They have issued a joint statement setting out the implications of the two bills and saying that the minister of law and order will be given virtually unlimited powers over the whole country and that the police will be given the powers to remove any person from a community for 6 months only on the basis that they thought the detainee might do something. [Text] [Umtata Capital Radio in English 0500 GMT 30 May 86 MB] /8918

ASSOCOM'S BCI DECLINES FOR THIRD CONSECUTIVE MONTH

MB291326 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1250 GMT 29 May 86

[Embargoed until 2201 GMT 29 May 86]

[Text] Johannesburg, May 30, SAPA—At 78.6, ASSOCOM's [Association of Chambers of Commerce] Business Confidence index [BCI] is showing the third consecutive monthly decline. There has thus been continued "slippage" in the index, and it is now below the average for 1985 as a whole.

Figures for the BCI for the period January 1, 1985 to end-April this year are as follows:

		1985	1986
January	$\frac{\partial \mathbf{v}}{\partial t} = \frac{\partial \mathbf{v}}{\partial t} = \partial $	78.6	81.9
February		83.3	85.5
March		79.1	83.0
April	. · · · · ·	76.1	79.0
May		77.9	
June		81.0	•
July		77.9	
August		76.9	•
September		78.2	
October		78.0	
November	.*	80.6	
December	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	81.1	
Average for the year		79.1	

Main reason for the recent decline, says ASSOCOM, has been "the prolonged fall in the rand's external value and the sharp upward trend in unemployment.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Another negative factor has been the net outflow of skills from South Africa.

<sup>&</sup>quot;However, a number of positive influences have kept the BCI from declining yet more strongly, including the reduction by 1 percent to 14.5 per cent in the prime lending rate of the commercial banks and the upward trend in share prices on the stock exchange."

ASSOCOM believes there is a strong case for a further mid-year package to get the economy moving more rapidly. The minister of finance has confirmed that the government hopes to announce such a package soon.

ASSOCOM thinks that the package should embody measures like:

- 1) A bold and imaginative message to businessmen and consumers.
- 2) A repayment of the 1980 loan levy to companies and individuals now, instead of next year.
- 3) A reduction in indirect taxation, in GST [General Sales Tax] or the import surcharge.
- 4) A further cut in fuel prices.
- 5) An announcement that the implementation of socio-economic projects for blacks will be more speedily and extensively executed.
- 6) A statement that the two pending regional taxes, on payrolls and turnover, will not be introduced before next year.
- 7) A re-assessment and reevaluation of the 1986 budget strategy and targets in the light of changed circumstances since March 1986.

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# COMMENTARY EMPHASIZES IMPORTANCE OF SMALL BUSINESS

MB300518 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 30 May 86

# [Station Commentary]

[Text] A note of urgency, even of impatience, is discernible these days among business experts talking about economic deregulation and the promotion of small business in South Africa.

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It is not surprising: The subject has been around for a long time, and so has the consensus that much more decisive action is needed than has been taken so far. The latest academic to make her voice heard is Professor Ronel Erwee of the University of Pretoria.

At a seminar in Johannesburg this week she said the establishment of small business enterprises was being hampered by too many control measures and regulations.

What was more, a majority of such undertakings failed as a direct result of legal problems. Others have expressed themselves more strongly.

At the annual congress of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut [Afrikaans Trade Institute] last week Professor Nic Swart of Potchefstroom University said the authorities would have to "get out of the way" of the small business sector if it was to make a contribution to achieving vital national goals.

South Africa's problem had always been its application of laws and regulations which were appropriate to the first world and which made the free enterprise system inaccessible to the masses, he said.

Economic deregulation—cutting away the bureaucratic red tape binding small business—is without a doubt one of the most important preconditions for economic growth and political stability in this country.

It is a necessary foundation for the stimulation of small business, And small business has shown itself to be by far the most productive agent in the creation of new jobs.

How high job creation rnaks as a priority was illustrated recently by Professor Wynand Pienaar of the University of South Africa [UNISA] when he revealed that some 80 per cent of black South Africans between the ages of 18 and 26 had never been employed.

There is no good reason why South Africa cannot follow the American road in meeting this challenge. In that country, with its proudly free economy, five million new jobs were created from 1982 to 1984. Eighty per cent of them were in business enterprises employing fewer than 20 workers.

In Japan small businesses with fewer than 30 workers account for over 50 per cent of total manufacturing production and provide 72 per cent of all factory jobs in the country.

As a job creator, small business must have top priority in South Africa, says Dr Ben Vosloo, managing director of the Small Business Development Corporation.

But programs aimed at creating new jobs on any big scale will all be hamstrung unless the government removes the web of regulations that ensnares initiative in red tape. An example: in any town in this country up to three dozen different legal requirements have to be met by anybody who sets out to prepare and sell food before he is finally granted a licence to start his business.

The negative effects spread insidiously into the political arena. A major reason for widespread black hostility to the present economic system, says Professor Swart, is the view that it is regulated to allow access to a select group only. That is because the existing so-called free market system is characterized by excessive regulation and consequent corruption, bureaucracy and inappropriate norms.

After a country-wide survey of black perceptions UNISA's School of Business Leadership has concluded that for free enterprise to win out against socialism in South Africa one of the most important requirements is the vigorous promotion of small business.

The evidence is overwhelming. The time for action is overdue.

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#### BRIEFS

EXPORTS-IMPORTS SHOW RISE--South African exports were 17.5 percent higher in the first 3 months of this year in comparison with the same period last year. Exports to Africa increased by 32 percent. The figures were released today by the Department of Trade and Industries' Export Promotion Division. According to the figures, the country also imported 19 percent more goods than during the corresponding period last year. The imports represent an amount of R6.8 billion and the exports 5.2 billion rand. South Africa was able to export more foodstuff during the period under review, as, for the first time in many years, good crops were harvested. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in Afrikaans 1400 GMT 27 May 86 MB] /8918

FUNDS FOR WESTERN CAPE UNEMPLOYED—The government has made about 5 million rands available to create jobs for 2,836 unemployed at Langa, Nyanga, Guguletu and Khayalitsha. This has been revealed in the House of Assembly by the minister of Constitutional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, in a written reply to a question. He said that the money had been requested by the Western Cape Development Board. He said the board also administered the projects tackled; namely, that provision of community services, the cleaning of townships, the upgrading of hostels, the making of bricks, and the building of 360 core houses. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 30 May 86 MB] /8918

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